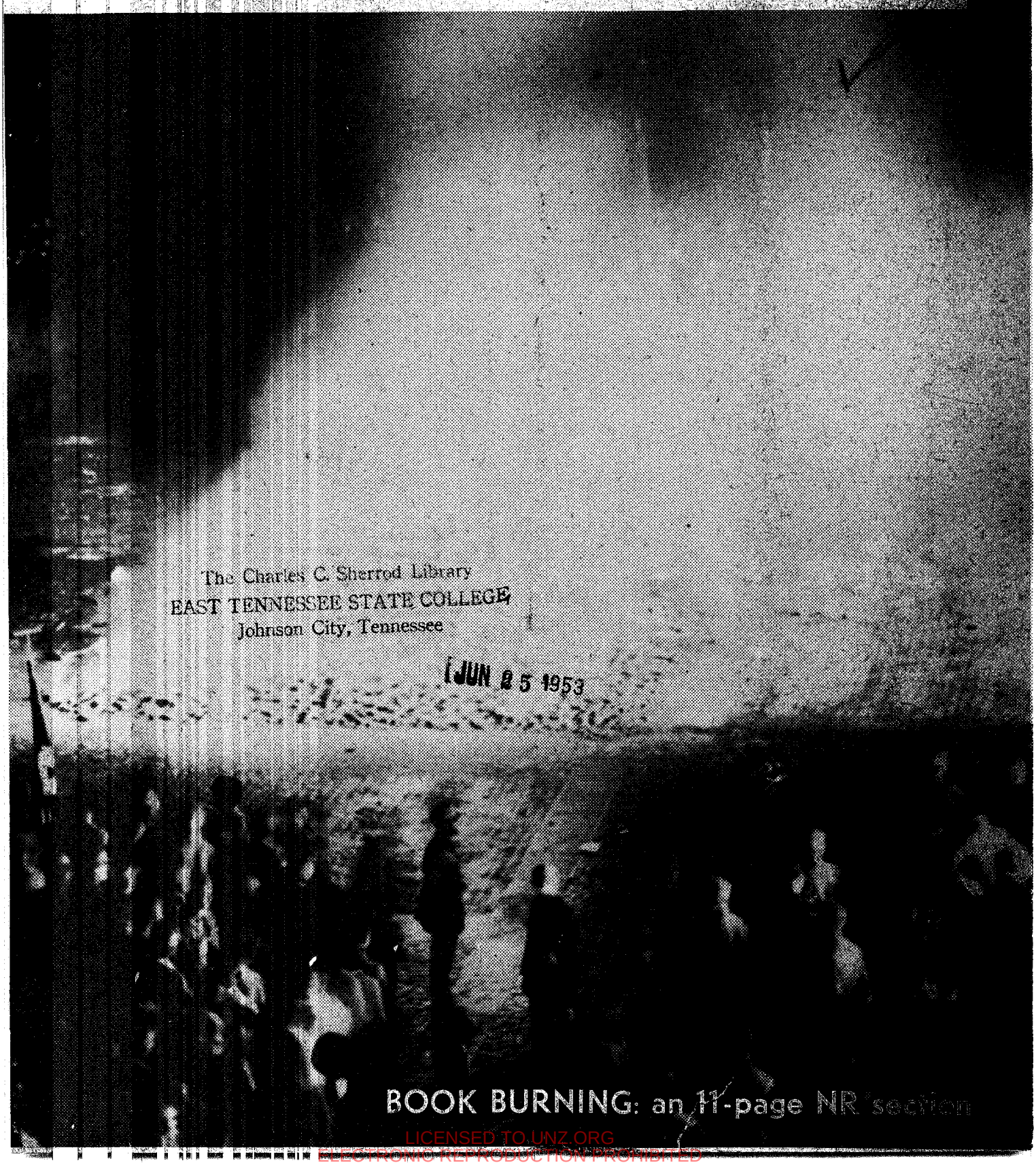
New Republic



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JUN 25 1953

BOOK BURNING: an 11-page NR section

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From Our Readers

Hell's Canyon

● The next to last paragraph in your article on the Hell's Canyon Dam (*NR*, May 18), says the following: "The private company's project would develop only about half the power which could be generated by Hell's Canyon Dam; it would furnish no flood storage; no water for irrigation."

The *Engineering News Record* in its May 14, 1953, issue, on page 23, also presents a report on the Hell's Canyon project. They state that the Idaho Power Company plans to build three lower dams and power plants which would develop 783,000 kw compared with approximately 900,000 kw in the federal project. They also state that, "So far as flood control and navigation are concerned, Interior Department says there is not much difference between the two proposals."

The *ENR* report also goes on to state: "If the three company dams were built concurrently, it is estimated they could be producing power seven to eight years ahead of the larger federal project," and that, "in order to make up for such an initial loss in power, Interior says the proposed federal project would have to operate more than 25 years."

It is obvious that different opinions regarding the value of the Idaho Power Company's proposal would be obtained from reading your article and the *ENR* article. I would be particularly interested in learning the source of your information, and also hearing your comments on the discrepancies between the two articles.

Baltimore, Md. JOHN B. NESBITT

● One difficulty in comparing our story with that in *ENR* is the shifting ground: in 1950 Idaho Power Company filed an application for Oxbow Dam; on Nov. 10, 1952, it filed amendments (but not a firm application) which suggested the addition to Oxbow of one of two alternative series of dams; either four low-head dams (and that was the plan most generally discussed), or two dams, one of which would have storage capacity. On May 15, 1953, after our story had already appeared, Idaho Power formally applied for licenses to construct the two dams. *ENR* may have had advance knowledge of this application; we did not.

The comparison between Hell's Canyon and Idaho Power's project to which Mr. Nesbitt refers, involved data presented last year to a subcommittee of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

According to estimates presented in these hearings, the one low dam proposed plus the four low dams contemplated in the private power company plans would provide a total of 375,000 to 500,000 of prime power. The Hell's Canyon Dam as planned by the government would generate 688,000 kw of prime power at the site, plus an additional 432,000 to 724,000 at lower dams, through regulation of the stream flow. That makes a total prime power output for Hell's Canyon that is more than twice the best estimate for private power dams.

In its endless attacks on the government's plans for Hell's Canyon, the Idaho Power Company ridiculed the governments provision for 3.9 million acre-feet of storage. Until May 15, the power company had not proposed to construct a storage reservoir. Then the company reversed itself and proposed to add one million acres of storage water in a new dam at Brownlee. This latest application proposed a total installed capacity of 783,000, compared with an installed capacity of 900,000 kw for Hell's Canyon.

The question of flood control raises an interesting point. Hell's Canyon would have almost four times the usable storage capacity of Idaho Power Company's Brownlee Dam. Under certain water conditions, that difference could be of substantial importance in diminishing a flood. Flood control is considered a public benefit for which no charge is made against the cost of the dam. It is a non-reimbursable expense in the public interest. If the private utility were to construct and operate a flood-control project in connection with its power dam, will it ask for a federal subsidy? That would open a new chapter in water policy.

Navigation is a small item in the project. The operation of the storage pond in the interest of navigation and flood control may at times be at odds with the demands for power. Integrated operation, therefore, by an operator responsible for all aspects of the project would appear more advantageous than operation for the purpose primarily of earning a return on power sales for the stockholders—most of whom are located far east of Idaho.

On irrigation, we were in error. No water would be supplied by Hell's Canyon. But the power revenue from Hell's Canyon Dam would establish the financial basis for the irrigation of vast areas of Southern farm land in the Mountain Home project.

As far as the time element is concerned, we have failed to discover the basis of Secretary McKay's current claim that private development would produce power seven or eight years ahead of the federal project. According to Reclamation Bureau schedules, if Hell's Canyon were started now, it would produce its first power in 1958. This is 1953. Even a spokesman for the Idaho Power Company last year

(*Continued on page 4*)

To Our Readers

● The caption on the photograph reprinted on the cover reads: *Un-German Books Burned At The Stake:* It continues, "As the flames roared higher and higher cheers arose from the crowds gathered in Opera Square in Berlin. . . . The writers of the condemned books included some of Germany's best-known names as well as others such as Helen Keller, Jack London and Franz Boas."

The picture serves, of course, not as a mirror of the US but as a warning to us. The words *book burning*, which are the President's, may be melodramatic. But some dramatization is due, and, 11 books, says Secretary Dulles, were burned. The peculiar horror of this admission is that burning implies the intent of total physical destruction of unwelcome knowledge, thought and art and raises beyond Nazism, the stake.

Some readers assume that the editor agrees with every word he prints. *How can you believe this!* They demand: *how can you print that!* The answer I suppose is that we doubt our premises.

Mill acknowledged his debt to Burke while he challenged him, believing above all in the free exchange of ideas. Over a century liberalism tended to develop its own conformism. We suspect that trend.

We assume varying degrees of responsibility within these pages.

Letters: We print one letter for every 10 we receive. We try to balance the critical and the approving, favoring the original.

TRB: An experienced respected journalist on a leading national newspaper contributes the TRB column. He writes as he pleases, without interference from us.

Editorials and News: For these we assume full and sole responsibility.

Articles: We take responsibility for accuracy, fairness and good taste. The assumptions of contributed articles are usually our assumptions; the conclusions often are not. We know no liberal line.

Literature and the Arts: We exercise editorial responsibility, of course, in choosing critics and reviewers. But our requirements of identification diminish as the books under review extend from immediate political problems to debatable issues and literary and artistic works.

This issue deals with discrimination in libraries; not all of it is deliberate. One reader, D. R. Parter writes that in a recent visit to the Bodleian library he searched for a long time for M. Baldwin's *I Leap Over The Wall: A Return to the World After 28 Years in a Convent.* He found it eventually in the section on sports.

M. S.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

THE LITTLE man in the street in East Berlin hates the Communists and risks death to oust them. His revolt is the single worst propaganda defeat for Moscow since the Cold War started.

Simultaneously Syngman Rhee revolts against UN truce proposals and confronts Washington with a situation almost as embarrassing. Rhee is simply continuing to say what Taft, Knowland, Nixon and MacArthur said so long as Acheson was in office and stopped saying, only grudgingly, when Eisenhower took over. Anything short of total victory was "appeasement." It is terrifying to think of the venomous villification Acheson would receive in the Rhee affair from the same press that now remains silent to spare Dulles. But Dulles' prestige is badly damaged amongst isolationist Republicans even though they feel they can not yet attack him. Meanwhile the President's refusal to slap down his own party in Congress alienates internationalist Democrats who have time after time given him the votes necessary to put his measures through. This is an extremely unstable condition that seems unlikely to last.

With the radiant face of a good man uttering honorable sentiments, President Eisenhower at Dartmouth College attacked "book burning." Uplifted and inspired by the setting and prompted by the remarks of Canadian Secretary of State Lester Pearson, he uttered gratifying generalities with honest emotion. Back in Washington three days later, reporters prodded him; questions came from all over the hall—what had he meant; how about McCarthy? Ike said he would not indulge in personalities. He seemed unfamiliar with the State Department directive that started the whole matter of ordering US information libraries abroad to drop "controversial" books. Was there such a directive? He would call in Dulles and find out. There seemed little hope that Senator Lehman's prayer at Milwaukee, that the President would "give us at long last the leadership we seek in offering battle to the forces of ignorance and inquisition" would be fulfilled.

Our view of the Rosenberg case can be put briefly. We thought the Rosenbergs guilty, don't believe in capital punishment, concluded that for matters of policy—if for no other reason—the President should have commuted their sentences to life imprisonment rather than giving Communists what they wanted, two "martyrs." We shall not soon forget the scenes before the White House, the silent circle of marching NY Communists with banners endlessly revolving by the iron rails, the almost equal number of quiet police, the beating sun, the prosaic streetcars, the gaping tourists, the clogged traffic, the gleaming White House, the obscene little counter-demonstration lewdly exulting in the forthcoming deaths, the headlines of foreign riots, the nerve-strain, the robins caroling from the park across Pennsylvania Avenue. Then 8 p. m., and it was all over. What did America gain by this that prison terms would not have assured?

Truman called the 80th Congress the "do-nothing Congress," but by June 20, 1948, Truman had signed 335 public laws whereas Ike has signed only 62 so far since January. The "do-nothing" Congress of Truman's wrath was a Ford assembly line of activity compared to the present sessions. The extraordinary thing is that Eisenhower came to office without any real program. On many domestic matters he is to the right of Taft, as when he cited TVA last week as an illustration of "creeping socialism"—a shock, perhaps, to Tennessee which voted for Ike in 1952 after assurances that he would support TVA.

Lack of new legislation does not worry hardshell conservatives. They came to office not to pass new laws but to remove or undermine old ones. Under the guise of "economy," they seek a counter-

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revolution and are quietly getting it by capturing the regulatory agencies—the tariff and Federal Trade commissions, for example and the administrative machinery. Bless you—they don't need new laws, though of course the "give-away" off-shore oil bill was nice.

The farm surplus problem was one of the things that looked easy when Ike was campaigning, out-promising Stevenson on parity payments. Now Ike is momentarily expected to send a special message to Congress for authority to dump abroad huge quantities of federal food. The unfortunate Secretary of Agriculture, Mormon Apostle Ezra Taft Benson, faces a really alarming problem: on June 8 he owned, or was committed soon to take over, $3 billion worth of food, fiber and other farm products. The trouble with dumping is that it is almost as destructive to world trade as high tariffs. If the US dumps its 300 million pound surplus of powdered milk in India, for example, New Zealand loses its trade there; if America unplugs world dairy prices, what happens to Holland, which recently protested US exclusion of her cheese? Yet dumping seems to be the Administration's answer.

For six years, a periodic, detailed mid-year economic report has been made by the President's Council of Economic Advisers, but there won't be one this July. The old Council and staff were wiped out, bag and baggage, and the new one isn't yet reconstituted. The mid-term report was helpful and would be particularly so now with many ominous economic signs evident. But Washington's economic planning today goes chiefly into the deflationary "hard money" program. Some conservatives want a "comfortable little recession" to teach labor good manners.

Notes: Truman breaks his self-imposed six months' political silence next week at Philadelphia with the 83rd GOP Congress the target. . . . Our 8-year old, reared on *Iolanthe*, saw the peers in the Coronation film and inquired innocently, "Where are 'the lower middle classes'?"

Washington T.R.B.

LETTERS

(*Continued from page 2*)

estimated the time difference at only two to four years (T. E. Roach, *Hell's Canyon Hearings*, p. 785).

The question of who builds power plants seems far less important than (1) the maximum utilization of water resources which can be accomplished on a basis of integrated development and operation; and (2) the generation of power at costs sufficiently low to attract the commercial development of natural resources of the region. Compare the industrial development of Oregon and Washington with that of Idaho; the contrast is startling. The availability of large blocks of low-cost power is the crucial element in that difference.

Several farm organizations are anxiously awaiting the construction of Hell's Canyon Dam to begin production of phosphate fertilizer which is sorely needed in the Pacific Northwest and the Middle West. Power offers received from private utilities in the area are deficient in quantity and excessive in price. Only Hell's Canyon's low-cost power can unlock these deposits.

—THE EDITORS

A True Friend

● Every time Senator McCarthy opens his mouth, I get so mad that I present a friend of mine with a subscription to *New Republic*! The past week was pretty rough so enclosed is my check for *two* gift subscriptions.

I would certainly appreciate the Senator taking a long breather before I go broke.

New York, N. Y. RITA H. LIBIN

The Middle Ages

● Mr. Gerald W. Johnson's review of my "Mind of the Middle Ages" (Knopf, 1953) is flattering, but it is based on some fantastic notions. Gibbon is a superb literary artist, but he wrote before ancient philosophy has been well investigated and before the oriental mystery religions were understood. Modern philology and archeology have upset many of Gibbon's basic ideas.

It is now known that ancient civilization became medieval before it became Christian. The steady growth of asceticism, mysticism, and super-rationalism had transformed the ancient view of life long before St. Paul wrote his Epistles. The whole medieval economic, political, and cultural situation was due to currents that appeared in ancient pagan civilization from about 100 B.C. to 500 A.D. Christianity reflected these changes, but basically did not create them.

Oberlin, Ohio FREDERICK B. ARTZ

Bandwagon

"Some droll characters chant "Break up the Yankees," but others have tried, and are still trying, to pass discriminatory legislation against them or to organize back-stage cliques to circumvent them even in petty matters.

Is this evidence Communist thinking has penetrated our sports world?" – *From Jimmy Powers in the New York* Daily News.

* * *

"Cash dividends payable to stockholders in the second quarter are particularly significant because they will bring the total to over one billion dollars since the company was formed.

This is, of course, a very large sum for a private corporation, but compare it for a moment with our national budget and debt." – *From annual report to stockholders by J. S. Leach, Chairman of the Board of the Texas Company: April 28, 1953.*

* * *

"I had a very simple idea about unemployed people at that time. I thought that if they could go out to the mountains, pan about $3 worth of gold a day, and bring it back to the economy, everything would be all right. That not being possible, I thought, why not get people to store non-perishable commodities such as rubber." – *Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Defense, in testimony before Congress, June 11, 1593.*

* * *

"Of course, *Newsweek* has taught the General something, too. In military life he had always had his aides put through his important telephone calls. As a result, Tooey wasn't accustomed to using a dial phone. He soon became an expert, however. 'You really learn things in retirement,' the General remarks." – *Theodore F. Mueller, Publisher of* Newsweek, *on contributing editor Carl (Tooey) Spaatz.* Newsweek, *June 8, 1953.*

* * *

"(Huey) Long opposed his President. McCarthy supports his. . . . McCarthy submits to party discipline. . . .

"I can cite one conclusive example. . . . He . . . accepted as correct the view that not he but the President was the final authority in the selection of the administration head of this operation [Voice of America]." – *George Sokolsky in the New York* Journal American, *June 10, 1953.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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VOLUME 128, NUMBER 26, ISSUE 2013, WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 29, 1953

New Republic

THE WEEK: IN GERMANY AND KOREA

UPRISING IN EAST BERLIN

Central and sacred in Communist doctrine is the claim that the Communist Parties are the parties of the working class and that the Communist dictatorships are workers' states. For 30 years this claim exercised a powerful appeal not only to workers but idealists who sympathized with workers as an exploited group and believed in them as a dynamic political force.

But the men who marched down Stalin Allee in Berlin on June 16 protesting the increase in work norms wore the wooden clogs of laborers, the broad black hats of carpenters, the white smocks of plasterers and masons.

This first demonstration was probably staged by the East German Government. It followed major concessions by the Communists in the proposed amnesty, the retreat from collectivization, the end of the school purge, the grants of some measure of intellectual freedom, and the transfer of Soviet control from military to civilian hands. The demonstration was perhaps intended to confirm that the liberalizing of controls was real and to prove that East Germany was really a free state, capable of joining West Germany, and so disrupting present Western plans.

Instead, when the valve was lifted, the boiler almost burst. Every major city and every major industry in the East Zone was paralyzed as one half of the working forces emptied the mines and factories, and filled the streets smashing and burning every symbol of Communist power. The revolt came in the "hunger months" when fuel is traditionally scarce. But it was basically a political uprising. It was led in later stages by the Social Democratic underground which has remained strong in Prussia and Silesia. It was far larger than the first Spartakist revolt led by the Communists when they in turn were protesting against police power.

For two years the Russians have kept Soviet troops out of Berlin. They have built up German forces, the Bereitschaften and Volkspolize for use in emergencies. It would have been far better for the Russians to suppress Germans with Germans. They dared not, and the German troops were held back, while 25,000 Russians moved in.

For the moment, the principal new endeavor of the Malenkov regime, to liberalize controls, is ruined. Polish nationalism is as explosive as that of East Germany. The Czechs have already staged a major revolt. Within Russia itself, news of the German uprising has traveled like lightning. For all these subject peoples, the conclusions drawn may be fatal for the Kremlin if the German revolt is not followed at once by a public demonstration of ruthless police power.

As far away as Panmunjom, the first impact of the Berlin uprising may lead the Russians to delay all further negotiations until their power over outlying slave states is plainly restored. Then, they may seek to counter the blow of the German uprising by a new and larger propaganda campaign. If they are wise, it will be directed once more to the unification of Germany, which is our weakest point and the one issue they can salvage from the political rubble in Berlin, for it was in the name of German unity, not working-class solidarity, that the heroes of the East Zone rose up, and its martyrs fell.

SYNGMAN RHEE

This magazine, part of a small minority, has warned for a long time that Syngman Rhee was a ward-heeler cast as a statesman. Now the proof is out, and perhaps too late.

Rhee's action in releasing the North Korean prisoners violated both a personal commitment to the UN Supreme Commander, Gen. Mark Clark, and also the terms on which the Republic of Korea accepted the support of the UN. (To assert this does not condone Clark's blunder in taking Rhee at his word.) Rhee now declares that the Republic will not accept the armistice. That may ruin the armistice, and the blame is solely on Rhee, since the Chinese Communists, on the whole, showed remarkable restraint.

Rhee cannot contemplate a military offensive to drive to the Yalu. Neither the ROK troops nor the US armies can today achieve that objective. Rhee wants simply to be freed to strike at any time he pleases, to unify Korea by political or military means. He wants the road opened for an ROK offensive by ensuring the evacuation of Chinese troops. He wants the political stage set by setting an impossible cut-off date for a political conference after which the armistice will fall. He wants, finally, to be guaranteed against counter-attack, defeat and any other trouble he may invite by a mutual assistance treaty with the US. If the US should be reckless enough to undertake this unilateral commitment, we would find ourselves left alone. The UN has fulfilled its objectives in Korea of repelling the aggression and restoring peace to the area and will not sanction further adventures intended to unify Korea by military means, if need be at the price of world war.

If Rhee insists on going his own way, we have no choice but to stick with the UN, to conclude an armistice, if possible, based on the exchange of prisoners, and to seek a further agreement between the UN and China, guaranteeing the present borders against attack from either side.

If Rhee refuses to accept these restraints and protections, then we can only cut short our program for arming and training the ROK armies, and return to the 1949 strategy of basing our Pacific defenses on Okinawa and Japan.

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THE CRIME AND PUNISHMENT OF JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG

BEFORE the punishment, and not to be forgotten, was the crime. Julius Rosenberg, if (as we do) you believe the evidence, was a participant in the Communist espionage network who recruited his brother-in-law, David Greenglass, an employee at the atomic bomb project at Los Alamos. He transmitted to a Soviet vice-consul material supplied by Greenglass on the bomb and further material supplied by Morton Sobell. Rosenberg, himself, while working at the Emerson Radio Company, stole and delivered to the Russians the proximity fuse.

Ten years ago, posing as a legitimate political party, the Communist Party might have let the Rosenbergs' trial and punishment go on without comment. The British Communist Party hesitated long before attempting a half-hearted defense of its own atomic spy, Allan Nunn May. Instead the Communists became all-out champions of the Rosenbergs, hailing them as martyrs, murdered by capitalist justice. This attitude amounts to acknowledgement by the Communist Party that it is an international conspiracy, boasting of the loyalty of members who deliver to Russia information which might lead to countless deaths and the defeat of the US in war.

After the crime came the punishment, and it is there that many non-Communists have doubts and misgivings. Assuming that the record fully justified the conviction and that the penalty was one prescribed by law, was death the appropriate punishment?

The judicial answer to that question was conclusively rendered by Judge Irving Kaufman, the trial judge. It was he who had the decisive statutory choice as between punishment "by death or by imprisonment for not more than 30 years." And under established legal principles, higher courts have no control over a sentence which is within the limits allowed by a statute. It was therefore impossible for the Court of Appeals or the Supreme Court to change the death sentence on review of the case, however much those courts might have thought Judge Kaufman's choice unwise.

A traditional argument for the death penalty is its deterrent effect. While those who spy for money might be deterred, execution seems less likely to stand as a barrier to fanatics like the Rosenbergs who went to their deaths unrepentant and ready for martyrdom. In addition, and however falsely, the Rosenberg case was made a second Sacco-Vanzetti affair in Europe where spying is taken as a matter of course, and any stick is useful with which to beat the Americans. Regrettably, the Rosenbergs are of far more use dead than alive to those who endanger the security of this nation.

These were some of the feelings in the minds of those who felt uneasy about the execution of the Rosenbergs. And they are not dissipated by the action of the Supreme Court, sitting in special session and removing the last hope of judicial intervention some eight hours before the execution. In one form or another, the Rosenberg case came before the Supreme Court on seven different occasions. Each time the Court refused to review the case. It then adjourned on June 15 for the summer. Almost immediately Justice Douglas was presented with a new application for stay of execution, slated for June 18. Acting within his clear statutory power, Douglas held a hearing and on June 17 issued a stay of execution until lower courts could hear and determine what he concluded was a novel and substantial point of law about the power of Judge Kaufman to impose the death sentence.

The hue and cry raised against Douglas by this action finds no parallel in modern judicial history. The Attorney General called upon the Chief Justice to order a special session of the Supreme Court to review Douglas' stay order. With this extraordinary demand, the Chief Justice instantly complied.

Then followed, on June 18, more than a three-hour argument before the full Court on the merits of the point of law upon which Douglas based his stay order. The next day the Court, with Justices Black and Douglas dissenting and with Justice Frankfurter reserving his views till later, overrode the stay order and cleared the way for execution that evening. It remained for Black to note that this was an unwarranted display of power by the Court, that Douglas had undoubted power to issue the stay and that there was no statute or rule which permitted the full Court to set aside a temporary stay entered by a Justice in obedience to his statutory obligations. But the majority was determined that nothing should stand in its way. While it conceded that Douglas had the right to do what he did, it overruled him without regard to lack of precedent or statutory power.

Forever remaining a part of the Rosenberg record is the statement of Justice Douglas that the trial court was without jurisdiction to impose the death penalty, since the jury did not recommend it. While lawyers may disagree over the legal point brought out by Douglas, the fact remains he felt deeply that he was right on the law. And Justice Black likewise believed that a jury recommendation of death was essential, a recommendation that was not given in the Rosenberg case. The flagrant efforts of the Communists to exploit the case cannot obscure the bitter truth of Black's concluding words:

> I should add my regret that the rush and pressure of this case has deprived me of any opportunity to do more than hastily sketch my view of these important questions raised. I have not been allowed to give the time and study to this opinion that is generally devoted to decision and opinions in important cases. It is not amiss to point out that this Court has never reviewed this record and has never affirmed the fairness of the trial below. Without an affirmance of the trial by the highest court of the land there may always be questions as to whether these executions were legally and rightfully carried out.

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A SPECIAL NEW REPUBLIC REPORT ON

Book Burning

Who are the book burners? What happened in San Antonio, St. Cloud and Boston? Senate Transcript — McCarthy vs. Conant

TO THE GRADUATING class of Dartmouth College President Eisenhower cried: "Don't join the book burners! . . . Don't be afraid to go to the library and read every book so long as that document does not offend our own ideas of decency—that should be the only censorship."

But who are book burners? "Not me," replied Senator McCarthy, "I haven't burned any books," The President, McCarthy added, must be referring to his own Department of State whose directives, sanctioned by Secretary Dulles, order US libraries abroad to remove all books "by Communists, fellow travelers, et cetera."

President Eisenhower was asked about these directives —he hadn't heard of them, he said. But, he added in his press conference of June 17, he wasn't talking about books by Communists when he advocated "free access to knowledge." If the State Department is burning books which appeal to people to be Communists, then that is all right with the President of the United States. Books by anti-Communists about Communism, he feels, should be laid out for all to study; books by Communists are something else. With this clarification, the US libraries overseas can proceed with their work of education and enlightenment.

There are 230 US libraries and information centers overseas. Close to two million books stand on their shelves. They are visited by 27 million people each year. Their purpose, until Eisenhower took office, was, according to the Educational Exchange Manual, to provide "significant and useful books and pamphlets" that offer "a balanced view of the US" and "a balance of the opinion and thinking of the US."

That definition in itself was a retreat from the original purpose set 10 years ago. In 1942 and 1943, our first government-sponsored libraries were established in Latin America, and, according to Henry James Jr. in his study published in the current *Library Quarterly*, "they were founded primarily to function as model public libraries abroad and operated on the principle of free access to printed materials for everyone"—they served as demonstrations of our basic conviction that truth flourishes in the free marketplace of ideas.

In wartime, the special demands for information about the US led to the establishment of new "information centers." Their role was to provide "information with a purpose." The purpose was to provide a "full and fair" picture of the United States. Non-conformity was still emphasized to citizens overseas who aspired to build their nations in our image. When the American Military Government opened its libraries in Germany, Austria, Japan, Korea and Trieste, its directive laid special emphasis on providing books by writers banned under the dictatorships we had fought a great war to defeat.

In 1948, the Smith-Mundt Act granted permanent legislative status to the Overseas Library program. Its purpose was to offset widespread misinformation concerning the United States, and it held out the "full and fair" picture as the objective of our counter-effort to inform peoples abroad. But as the Soviet-directed Hate America Campaign was intensified, our effort became more closely associated with counter-propaganda. In this spirit President Truman launched in 1951 the self-contradictory Campaign of Truth. In the *Library Journal*, Robert Delaney concluded: "Culture for culture's sake has no place in the US informational and educational exchange

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The Etceteras and the and so forths

The following Americans have been mentioned unfavorably in testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee or cited by the Committee as belonging to one or more "fronts." Present directives indicate that their works should be withdrawn from US libraries overseas, and that they should not be the subjects or authors of feature articles or broadcasts distributed or broadcast overseas.

James Truslow Adams
Sherwood Anderson
Roger Baldwin
Charles Beard
Leonard Bernstein
Van Wyck Brooks
Pearl Buck
James Branch Cabell
Erskine Caldwell
Stuart Chase
Marc Connolly
Aaron Copland
Norman Corwin
Clarence Darrow
Eugene Debs
John Dewey
John Dos Passos
Olin Downes
Theodore Dreiser
Max Eastman
Sherwood Eddy
Irwin Edman
Albert Einstein
Morris Ernst
Clifton Fadiman
Louis Fischer
Lewis Gannett
George Gershwin
Frank Graham
Louis Hacker
Roy Harris
Arthur Garfield Hays
Ernest Hemingway
Stanley High
Sidney Hillman
John Hays Holmes
Sidney Hook
Fannie Hurst
Harold Ickes
Alvin Johnson
James Weldon Johnson
Matthew Josephson
Oliver LaFarge
Harold Lasswell
Max Lerner
David C. Lilienthal
Robert and Helen Lynd
Archibald MacLeish
Norman Mailer
Thomas Mann
Burns Mantle
Reginald Marsh
Lewis Mumford
Reinhold Niebuhr
Dorothy Parker
Arthur M. Schlesinger
Budd Schulberg
Upton Sinclair
Norman Thomas
Virgil Thomson
Henry Wallace
Frank Lloyd Wright
Richard Wright
Gregory Zilboorg

programs . . . cultural activities are an indispensable tool of propaganda."

Leading educators combined in 1947 to urge Congress to distinguish between propaganda and cultural exchange. But Congress chose propaganda, and discounted libraries as a propaganda weapon. By 1951 two experts of the Bureau of the Budget, preparing the overseas library appropriations for Congress, concluded that the libraries should be made focal points of "all overt propaganda activities" and that all other functions were a waste of funds.

In contrast, Harland Carpenter, Robert Crowell and Chester Kerr, three experts acting as special consultants, reported to the State Department:

> Let the libraries become known as mere propaganda agencies for the dissemination of anti-Communist literature and their effectiveness will be quickly crippled.

And the Librarian of Congress, Luther Evans, testified:

> People are deeply moved by what they experience, and I suspect the actuality of free open-handed American libraries overseas means as much to their users as the books they read in them. They may have read about freedom of opinion in the US. They actually see evidence of it in our American library that contains books different from or even hostile to the views of the Administration in power in the US. The presence of an uncensored book critical of some aspect of American life in the open collections of a US library can do more than a thousand propaganda tracts to convince the doubting reader of the integrity of American goals and the candor with which American shortcomings are admitted.

Under a Democratic President, Secretary of State Acheson distributed in US libraries throughout the world magazines such as *Life*, which damned him as little short of a traitor. Secretary Dulles shared Acheson's principles but lacked his guts. Dulles' International Information Administration began by advocating the use of pro-US material by Soviet-endorsed writers such as Howard Fast where it might "be given special credibility among selected key audiences." But when McCarthy attacked this directive the State Department cancelled it and in its place ordered all broadcasters and libraries to stop using material by "Communists, fellow travelers, et cetera." A further directive to employees preparing scripts and articles for overseas audiences banned discussion by or about "Communists, fellow travelers and so forth." And a third directive ordered publishers to certify that no material sent abroad under a State Department program would be by: "Communists, fellow travelers or persons who might be controversial" (this was cancelled on demand of the publishers concerned).

So the match bearing the brand name of Eisenhower and Dulles was struck and set to the bonfire. A score of books were removed from all Amerika Haus libraries in Berlin. They included a study by Vera Micheles Dean, a novel by Walter Duranty, the poems of Langston Hughes and Howard Fast's edition of the works of Tom Paine. In Bombay and Calcutta the banned books included Clarence Streit's *Union Now*, the Lynd's *Middletown*, *Rising Wind* by Walter White, Alan Barth's *The Loyalty of Free Men* and *Washington Witch Hunt* by the New York *Herald-Tribune's* correspondent, Bert Andrews. The full lists of books burned and banned have been kept secret; but "et cetera," "and so forth" and "controversial" have generally been interpreted by subordinate officials as referring to any author about whom derogatory information has been offered before a Congressional committee. Any official who did not follow the House Un-American Activities Committee as a guide and further purge the shelves of all works critical of McCarran or McCarthy acted at his own peril. This

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was made explicit by a memorandum from the State Department Press Officer declining to define "et cetera," "and so forth" and "controversial" and declaring that doubtful cases "must be determined by those responsible for the program." Only reckless men, under these conditions, could choose to take steps offensive to McCarthy, since the President and the Secretary have rarely backed up their subordinates whom McCarthy has singled out for attack. Appalled by the reaction they foresaw, responsible officials overseas attempted to delay the application of the directives. But then the lists of proscribed authors arrived, to be followed by the inspection of library shelves by McCarthy's staff men Cohn and Schine.

The shock overseas, to peoples trained to despise propaganda and barely freed from political enslavement was tremendous; American correspondents reporting the reaction, filed accounts so violent that many were not printed in newspapers here at home.

Nor are Europeans made happier by the opinion voiced by Eisenhower, seconded by Conant and approved by McCarthy that they are too immature to be exposed to the dangerous books that may be found in libraries in this country. Eisenhower may hold that it is "The acme of silliness" for the US overseas libraries to harbor Communist books even though these books might be allowed at Dartmouth. Rather than be permitted access to approved books only, many Europeans would hold that our library program should be abolished altogether as a mirror of a frightened nation which can only demoralize the embattled democrats of Europe who are really threatened by mass Communist parties.

* * * * *

McCarthy was right; although they acted on his instigation, the book burners were Eisenhower's men. Yet it would be wrong to blame McCarthy, Eisenhower and Dulles and absolve all others. The truth is that the book burning in Bombay and Berlin followed a pattern well established in communities in our 48 states.

Some of this book burning begins with an understandable resentment aroused by the worst of the comic books and pocket books. Often, what is praised or criticized as McCarthyism is in fact the old intolerance of veterans groups and patriotic organizations which made itself felt long before McCarthy made his way to Washington. The idea of censorship is in fact accepted without question among wide sections of American society.

And yet other Americans remember and will fight to keep this nation's dedication to free speech. After five years of fear and intimidation the fact remains, as this issue of the *New Republic* records, that where bigotry appears, it is met by the courage of a small group, and the conscience and common sense of the majority. If some church spokesmen advocate censorship, others rise to the defense of freedom. If many newspapers are silent, voices of protest are still heard. McCarthy may submit a report advocating the suppression of offensive ideas. Another Republican controlled committee, led by Senator Hickenlooper, submits a report on the libraries overseas governed by intelligence and restraint. It concludes with a backhanded but definite recommendation that, "An adequate cross-section of American literature should be provided for a better understanding of American life and culture but writings of Communists or Communist sympathizers should not be tolerated in any manner which would indicate their acceptance by the American people."

Libraries overseas remain as examples of the attitude of Americans toward access to knowledge. And if the President is highly confused, the belief remains among most Americans that libraries are sanctuaries, too precious to be defiled. And the librarians themselves, organized in the Committee for Intellectual Freedom of the American Library Association, have quietly and courageously held their conferences, drafted their bill of rights, kept themselves informed through their own newsletter and stood their ground.

Library Bill of Rights

The Council of the American Library Association reaffirms its belief in the following basic policies which should govern the services of all libraries:

1. As a responsibility of library service, books and other reading matter selected should be chosen for values of interest, information and enlightenment of all the people of the community. In no case should any book be excluded because of the race or nationality, or the political or religious views of the writer.

2. There should be the fullest practicable provision of material presenting all points of view concerning the problems and issues of our times, international, national and local; and books or other reading matter of sound factual authority should not be proscribed or removed from library shelves because of partisan or doctrinal disapproval.

3. Censorship of books, urged or practiced by volunteer arbiters of morals or political opinion or by organizations that would establish a coercive concept of Americanism, must be challenged by libraries in maintenance of their responsibility to provide public information and enlightenment through the printed word.

4. Libraries should enlist the co-operation of allied groups in the fields of science, of education, and of book publishing in resisting all abridgment of the free access to ideas and full freedom of expression that are the tradition and heritage of Americans.

5. As an institution of education for democratic living, the library should welcome the use of its meeting rooms for socially useful and cultural activities and discussion of current public questions. Such meeting places should be available on equal terms to all groups in the community regardless of the beliefs and affiliations of their members. — Adopted by the Council of the American Library Association at Atlantic City on June 18, 1948.

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Capitol Hill—Faggots on the Fire

On June 15, 1953, James C. Conant, former President of Harvard University and now US High Commissioner for Germany, was called before the Senate Appropriations Committee as a supplementary witness on the State Department Appropriations. The following transcript is excerpted from the questioning of Conant by a committee member, Sen. Joseph McCarthy.

McCARTHY: I understand that you have no objection to Congressional committees exposing books by Communist authors on the Information bookshelves, and you have no objection to the removal of these books by Communist authors.

CONANT: I certainly would not object to a Congressional committee investigating anything and making recommendations to the Executive Branch on any subject.

McCARTHY: I think we will pin you down to a precedent because you are asking for $21 million, much of which is to be used for an information program.

You would not consider bookburning a rather vicious thing, if we insist that you do not have the works of Communists authors on your shelves over there to indoctrinate the German people?

CONANT: May I once again be sure we are using the words "Communist authors" in the same way, Senator.

McCARTHY: By a Communist author I mean a member of the Communist Party.

CONANT: I agree with you that books by members of the Communist Party should not be on the shelves of the American Information Service in Germany.

McCARTHY: And you think they should be exposed and removed from the book shelves?

CONANT: I think they should be removed. I am inclined to think that if they could be removed without too much publicity it would be much the best course.

McCARTHY: In other words, you object to the publicity attendant to exposure?

CONANT: I think in a case of this sort, if it can be done without publicity it would be much better. . . .

CONANT: I regret the public exposure. I think it would have been much better, Senator, if recommendations were made to the Executive Branch and they could have been removed with the minimum amount of publicity.

McCARTHY: Do you realize they were not removed until they publicly exposed them?

CONANT: That would be a question between the Congress and the Executive Branch.

* * *

McCARTHY: . . . Do you object to our publicly exposing the Communist authors and the works by those authors that have been on our bookselves, or do you think that is a good thing, or a bad thing to expose them?

* * *

CONANT: I regret the fact that you felt it was necessary to do it publicly. I don't think it is for me, working for the United States Government, to object or not object to what Congressional committees do . . .

McCARTHY: Then if you object, let us take a typical case. Let us take the case of Kaghan. We called to the attention of your department the fact that Kaghan, who was head of your Information Section, had lived with a Communist, had signed a pledge pledging he would support Communist candidates, that he had written plays that were produced by the Communist fronts and that he belonged to Communist-front organizations. We suggested that that man be gotten rid of.

Two months later he was still there. We picked him up by the scruff of his neck then, put him on public exhibition. He was gotten rid of. Do you regret now the fact that we did that?

CONANT: I do.

McCARTHY: Do you think we should have left him in your department?

CONANT: I think that Mr. Kaghan was under process of resigning for a lot of his own reasons when I got there. . . .

McCARTHY: I can tell you that is not true, Mr. Kaghan did not resign for his own reasons. Mr. Kaghan resigned because he was exposed because of his Communist activities. . . .

* * *

McCARTHY: Do you know a man named Lowell Clucas?

CONANT: Yes. He is Information officer in Munich.

McCARTHY: Do you think he is a good man for the job?

CONANT: As far as I know, I think he is a good man for the job.

McCARTHY: Have you examined the testimony on Clucas?

CONANT: Yes I have.

McCARTHY: And do you think Clucas is a good man for the job and will keep him on if we give you this $21 million?

CONANT: Yes.

McCARTHY: I think that gives us a fairly accurate picture, Mr. Chairman, of the type of information program we can expect.

Let me say this for the record: Mr. Clucas is one of the cases which I gave the Tydings Committee some three years ago.

* * *

CONANT: May I state, Senator, that Clucas, I have been informed by reliable authority, has had full clearance under the Public Law 402.

McCARTHY: Full clearance under the Acheson program. Alger Hiss had full clearance, Kaghan had full clearance. Every traitor that has ever been exposed has had full clearance. I am getting awfully sick to hear someone is getting full clearance. . .

* * *

McCARTHY: I may say also, Doctor, we get rather weary in our committee having someone come before us and saying, "Sure, I was a Communist ten years ago, but there is a presumption that I have reformed." I may say that when you have been a Communist, when you have a member of a conspiracy there is no presumption that you have reformed. I would like to know if you think Kaghan was the right man to be in charge or that program?

CONANT: I think there is no question about his being the right man for the program. I think he proved that while he was in charge of HICOG in fighting Communism and his effective work and the letters that came to me from Germans about him. From the evidence I had, I would say he was a very effective person against Communism all along the front. There is no evidence that I have—and I admit I haven't gone into it in any detail with the FBI organization—casts any question on his loyalty in the period that he was with HICOG. . . .

McCARTHY: . . . But just so that we have this on the record: Your testimony today is that Kaghan is the type of individual that you would be willing to have running this info program in the future, knowing his record as you do, you say he is the type of individual that you would select to run this information program in the future?

CONANT: I don't think I said that.

McCARTHY: Is that true or not?

CONANT: . . . in evaluating a man you've got to take his total personality and his executive ability and everything else. If you are talking simply to the question of his effectiveness as an anti-Communist person the answer is yes.

McCARTHY: That he is the type of person you would have running it?

CONANT: From the evidence I had, I would say he was a very effective person against Communism all along the front.

* * *

McCARTHY: . . . Then I say . . . that if

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you feel you should have men like Kaghan and Clucas spending money over there on the information program, I do not think this Senate should give you one penny. I may say at that point I have nothing against you for what has been done in the past, because they have been brought in under the old Acheson team. But if you are going to insist on keeping men on of the Kaghan and Clucas strain, it indicates to me that any money we spend over there on that program will be worse than wasted. I have nothing further Mr. Chairman.

* * *

McCARTHY: . . . Now we both agree that we should remove those books from the bookshelves. The question is: what do you propose we do with those books when they are removed from the bookshelves; destroy them or store them?

CONANT: I don't think there were anything like 30,000 on the bookshelves in Germany. I have no such numbers that were involved.

McCARTHY: Germany is not the only area. We are talking about the entire world, 30,000 in all of our Information Libraries.

What do you propose to do with those books when they have been removed?

CONANT: I would not have an answer to that. It would seem to me a relatively minor problem whether they were stored somewhere or what was done.

McCARTHY: What would you store them for? What are you going to save them for?

CONANT: They might be sold as excess property here in the US.

McCARTHY: Would you burn them?

CONANT: I certainly would not burn them.

McCARTHY: What would you do, pay for storing them?

CONANT: I think I would be able to make a deal by which I could get rid of them as secondhand books for one purpose or another.

McCARTHY: By secondhand books, do you mean for someone to read?

CONANT: Yes, in the United States.

McCARTHY: In other words, you are trying to sell those 30,000 books so that the people in the United States could read them? . . .

CONANT: I think the people in the US are perfectly capable of reading books by Communist authors or anyone else.

McCARTHY: So, then, you propose that we remove the books, 30,000, from the libraries abroad, bring them back to the US and sell them. Would you sell them to colleges?

CONANT: I think I would sell them through a secondhand bookstore.

McCARTHY: Would you object to having them sold to colleges?

CONANT: . . . as colleges they would not be interested in buying them probably. But I would not have any objection to their being put in college libraries, certainly not.

McCARTHY: In other words, you have no objection to Communist works being put in college libraries.

CONANT: Books by Communist authors, certainly not.

McCARTHY: You understand I am not speaking about books explaining the Communist ideology. I am not speaking about books by authors who say, "I am a Communist."

CONANT: I understand.

McCARTHY: I am speaking about books by Communists who claim they are good Americans who deny they are Communists. You say we should take those out of the libraries and bring them back and sell them to college libraries?

CONANT: No, sir. I said you should sell them. You spoke of selling them to colleges.

McCARTHY: You say you have no objection to selling them to college libraries.

CONANT: No.

McCARTHY: As president of your college would you object to buying them and putting them in your library?

CONANT: Undoubtedly we have all those books in our library. I haven't checked on it, but it would surprise me if we didn't have almost all the books that are published.

McCARTHY: I would be surprised, too, professor, if you did not. Now you realize that when you purchase a book of the Communist author you are putting money into the Communist coffers, do you not?

CONANT: It depends on the contract which the author makes with the publisher. It is the publisher, in my experience, not the author that gets the money.

McCARTHY: You know that every member of the Party must contribute to the Party, do you not?

CONANT: That is what I understand.

McCARTHY: Then when you buy the books of a Communist author, if he must have a certain percentage of his income to the Communist Party, that means that you are contributing to the Party. Right?

CONANT: But I thought the premise of this argument, Senator, was these books have already been bought. The question was trying to capture some of the taxpayers' money that was spent on them.

McCARTHY: You were president of the university for some time. I assume that you had Communist books in the library.

CONANT: Yes, I would assume our library had all the books published in the United States when not obscene.

McCARTHY: You have no objection to that?

CONANT: None whatever.

McCARTHY: Do you object to those being in the libraries in Germany?

CONANT: I think being in the libraries in Germany—you have a law in Germany—

McCARTHY: Do you object to them being put in under the auspices of Germany? I am referring to Communist books.

CONANT: I have no such power.

McCARTHY: Would you approve of it?

CONANT: That would be entirely for the Germans to settle themselves. They would not put in American books; they would be German books.

McCARTHY: All right, by the German Communist authors. If they come along and say, "Dr. Conant, do you think we should have Communist books in our libraries, to have our young people read them?" would you say, "Yes, we use them in universities and we would like to have them in Germany, too," or would you say, "No, the German people don't have the intelligence to read them"?

CONANT: I would say, "Gentlemen, Germany's future is in your hands. You make up your minds on that yourselves. Your own educational system is in your hands."

McCARTHY: May I say for the record that my discussion of the Information program in Germany I hope does not reflect upon Dr. Johnson. I think Dr. Johnson, who has just taken over as head of the Information program, is seriously trying to do a good job. I think he is making a lot of progress.

I feel that the idea of an information program professor is excellent. I think that we should try and get our version of the news into the Iron Curtain countries.

* * *

McCARTHY: I may say, Doctor, I think almost your entire problem is a problem of personnel. You have in that Information Program now men who had to be acceptable to an Administration that has been thoroughly repudiated, an Administration which stood for something entirely different from what the new Administration stands for. They could not be loyal to the old Administration, loyal to its policies and now be loyal to the new Administration and loyal to the new policies unless they are complete hypocrites.

I just think that you have to have a housecleaning over there, and you have not had it yet. I know it is difficult to recruit good men, but I believe the progress over in HICOG has been slow beyond words. About the only men you have gotten rid of, as far as we know, are those that the committee has publicly exposed, and we just cannot run HICOG or any other department of government by committee.

But I may say this: we are going to continue, as far as I am concerned, picking up your men and exposing them unless you get rid of them yourself.

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San Antonio—More Fire Fighters Than Fire

by Maury Maverick

IN APRIL, the Friends Service Committee (Quaker sponsored) were on their way to San Antonio to offer a public forum at a Methodist Church. The contract for space was agreed upon. And Bishop Oxnam was due to speak at the same church. Suddenly, like Roman candles and whizz-bangs, there erupted the Book-Burners.

A list of 600 proscribed books was produced by a lady Minute Woman. To be burned or branded were Dr. Einstein's *Theory of Relativity*, Thomas Mann's *Joseph of Egypt*, *Essays of Three Decades* and *The Magic Mountain*, Louis Untermeyer's *Treasury of American and British Poetry*, Dorothy Canfield Fisher's *Fables for Parents* and *Understood Betsy*, Allan Lomax's collection of American, mostly Negro, folksongs and Norbert Wiener's book on mechanical brains, *Cybernetics*.

To the bonfire also: Dorothy Parker, Louis Adamic, Harlow Shapley and Norman Corwin; editions of *The Canterbury Tales* and Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* were to get the torch because the illustrations were done by Rockwell Kent.

The new City Manager, a sancto-patriotissimo dollar-a-year man, shrilled for the fires. It was clearly implied that the Library Board of 15 unquestioned conservatives who stood firm for freedom of books had Red or pink connections.

But when the Book-Burners (a small, no-influence group) started, everybody in town rose up with ringing denunciations of them—and demands for a free uncensored library. All newspapers, including Hearst's, turned Jeffersonian and beat their drums for a free library.

And what is one reason that people are speaking up? Because they have had enough of being intimidated by arrogant, vulgar, psychotic parakeets. But the stronger reason is because old conservatives, rich people, even the elite, *los supremos de cultura*, (that is quick-rich oil men who never read a book) are being painted pink. This, Sirs, is sacrilege! A defeated city councilman said to me indignantly: "They charged me with being a Red. Why! *I am a Catholic!* . . ." (His opponent who defeated him was also a Catholic.) Too bad. I smiled, Monopoly of patriotism, I asked? A Roosevelt hater and banker whispered to me he admired me—secretly—for standing up for liberty. Soberly, I thanked him.

Far and wide, even those who bulge with the dear old American dollar now get humiliated and embarrassed and called Reds for reading Chaucer or Einstein or looking at Rockwell Kent's pictures or speaking of peace, or dams, or housing. I laugh! It may be sadistic, but when all of us were getting our brains beat out, *no* sympathy came from them. Nevertheless, I am glad of a returning protection because of persecution of the rich. For everybody knows you can't protect property without uncensored, free information; and *property* is in danger.

People actually have waked up. We here have organized the American Activities Committee with people of all kinds, *all* kinds. We have concluded that there have been enough of un-American activities, enough negativism, enough hatred and malice. It's time for AMERICAN activities. For instance we ordered all of the Congressional "un-American" material, and teams of young but mature researchers are reading and studying the information and are making reports.

But back to the bonfires. Methodist Bishop Oxnam must not talk at the downtown Methodist Church. No, Sir, heeza Red, said an extremely small, but loud-mouthed minority of scared people who advertise their alleged Christianity and make life miserable for honorable Christians. As for the Quakers, they are Communists, said a very few bird-brains. Finally Oxnam was cleared just because he was a Methodist. ("We gotta let a Methodist Bishop talk, even though we don't think like he does," said a prominent reverend.) But the Quakers—No! At the Church it was decided to break the contract providing the Quakers with a place for their meeting at which Dr. S. S. Nehru, Prof. Harrop Freeman of Cornell and Dr. W. St. Clair Drake, a colored professor of Chicago, were to speak.

For up stepped the Reverend Paul Osborne, High Episcopalian. He said to the Quakers: use my church out by the Army Post. And Retired Colonels, old fighting soldiers of St. Paul's Vestry, said, come on you Quakers and say what you please, this is a free country. One block down, the Government Hill Methodist Church also offered its church. That congregation is made up of old time sergeants and enlisted men, working men and little business people. So the Quakers got more space than they needed. By then the Rotarians were curious. They invited Bishop Oxnam to speak. He accepted. Oxnam spoke well. And everybody came out yelling for the Bill of Rights, and Peace, and the Bishop. Long live the (San Antonio) Rotarians! They did right. Before long the Nehrus were speaking all over town.

All through this our organization, the American Activities Committee, was meeting and acting. We saw

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clubs, newspapers, business organizations. We were all rather astonished at the support freedom for libraries and the Bill of Rights got. Among us long-time fighters for democracy dozens of young people showed up, all unafraid and all fine young Americans.

With full approbation of the directors of the Chamber of Commerce, and as their Chairman of the World Affairs Committee, I arranged a reception for Dr. and Madam Nehru. It was at our leading downtown hotel. The only person excluded was he who is now known as the Honorable James Crowe; (I mean, you Yankees, there was no Jim Crow applied).

Everywhere the Friend's Service speakers were accepted with courtesy and good will. The people listened to talk about Korea and war and peace as they would not have listened a few months ago. The newspapers kept praising the old neglected concept of Freedom of Speech. Everyone realized that the minority who have been intimidating decent Americans are a small, cheap lot.

This is true: the current trend for freedom of information is rising all over the world. Newspapers, Senators, the Honorable Secretary of State, some public officials—and by now, President Eisenhower—are themselves beginning to realize that so-called "top men" have acted as far bigger cowards than need to be.

And maybe the people have some brains after all—what's more, courage, more by far than our leaders. It is customary to speak of the ignorant multitude—by those "top-men." Oh, I know them both. And the top is probably the most ignorant, and has the least courage. No better educated than the average man, the top can't realize what public schools and universities and study courses have done in the last 50 years.

As to our organization.

Our American Activities Committee is applying for a charter and will get it. We are organizing for our town first, as a model for America and her constitutional ideals. We are feeling better. And we are going to assert ourselves.

St. Cloud—How The Flames Spread

by Clifford Davidson

IN ST. CLOUD, Minnesota, the drive to censor books began in 1941. It was directed, first, against the excesses of comic books and the sale of paper-bound volumes with lurid covers in local drugstores. It took the form of a "voluntary" censorship plan sponsored by a Father Bernard Lenarz. Father Lenarz and his group gave to city news dealers who cooperated with them an "emblem of purity" for display. And their movement led to successful pressure for a city ordinance, passed in 1950. A group of Catholic clergymen in St. Cloud who led the movement for this ordinance declared that its purpose was to "gain control over the type of publications offered for sale in the city of St. Cloud." The statement suggested further that the board created by the ordinance "could adopt the banned list of the National Organization for Decent Literature either in its entirety or in part."

The National Organization list is published by the Chicago Archdiocese Council of Catholic Women and distributed widely outside of Illinois.

The idea of censorship was presented to residents of St. Cloud as a measure to ban salacious comic books. But its purpose, judging by the National Organization's list, was broader. And in fact the St. Cloud ordinance, passed in one reading under a suspension of the city charter rules, provided:

It shall be unlawful for any person, firm, company, or corporation to sell, offer for sale, display, display for sale, print, distribute, or offer for distribution, any comic book, magazine, paper, book or other publication within the City of St. Cloud, Minnesota, which said comic book, magazine, paper, book, or other publication *prominently features* [italics mine] an account of horrors, robberies, murders, arson, assault with caustic chemicals, assault with a deadly weapon, burglary, kidnaping, mayhem, rape, theft, voluntary manslaughter, ridicule of law enforcement or parental authority; or are obscene, immoral or lewd; or ridicules any person or persons because of race, creed or color; or advocates un-American or subversive activities.

Armed with this ordinance, the Board of Review went to work. It banned from St. Cloud many books including the *Studs Lonigan* trilogy of James T. Farrell, *What Makes Sammy Run* by Budd Schulberg, *Black Boy* by Richard Wright, *Mister Roberts* by Thomas Heggen and *Of Human Bondage* and *Cakes and Ale* by Somerset Maugham.

The decisions on these books, like all decisions of the Board of Review, were made in secret meetings. The list of banned books was not made public. The Board simply proscribed books it considered "objectionable" and gave as its reason the "protection" of the youth.

To determine why Maugham's *Cakes and Ale* was banned, this reporter telephoned four members of the Review Board. Two of the four were unable to remem-

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The NODL List

The National Organization for Decent Literature, organized by the Chicago Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women, gives wide distribution to a list of books which make "suitable reading for Youth" and a companion list of "Publications Found Objectionable." The majority of the latter are comic books or lewd or salacious novels. But listed along with them are the following:

Freud, His Dreams and Sex Theories
Nana
What Makes Sammy Run
The Well of Loneliness
The Sure Thing
A World I Never Made
God's Little Acre
Kitty Foyle
Native Son
The Sheltering Sky
Knock on Any Door
Sanctuary
The Young Lions
The Woman of Rome
Tobacco Road
The Sling and the Arrow
Wild Palms

ber why *Cakes and Ale* was banned. A third, the Reverend Raymond Anderson, said that it was "judged on obscene assiduous passages which it contained in its unabridged edition." The fourth member, and leading sponsor of the ordinance, Mrs. Elmer Barg, refused to discuss the book with me. But she has declared that the Review Board found "objectionable" books which (1) "tear down all respect for God" (2) "tear down all respect for morals" and (3) "tear down all respect for law enforcement."

A resolution by the Board given to the city council states "it has been a practiced policy of the board to determine the acceptability of literature for sale to youth on the basis of morality rather than literary merit and without regard for title, author or popularity."

The ordinance had all the semblance of an enforceable law. It even prescribed a fine of $100 or imprisonment not to exceed 90 days for news dealers who failed to fall into line with the Board's proscribed list. No case was ever taken to court but the ordinance had its effect.

Many townspeople disliked the ordinance. And yet they remained silent for fear of losing business. The local newspapers refused to regard it as a threat. The Minneapolis *Star* was critical. But the local *Daily Times* took no stand while the weekly *Shopping News* declared "about the silliest thing we have ever heard is that an ordinance curbing the flow, sale, trade or what have you of indecent literature would endanger the freedom of our press." The *Register*, the official paper of the St. Cloud diocese of the Catholic Church, blasted those who opposed the censorship of "printed filth."

A fight was made against the ordinance. It centered in the faculty and student body of the St. Cloud Teachers College. The *College Chronicle*, the weekly student newspaper, attacked the ordinance and reaffirmed American concepts of freedom of speech. And two faculty members, Dr. Fred Archer and Dr. Lewis Smith Jr., spoke and wrote against the ordinance despite threatening letters and telephone calls. One such telephone call was from a woman who refused to give her name and who demanded to know of Dr. Archer when he was leaving town. He traced the call to Sybil Hollern, St. Cloud's policewoman.

The professors were attacked further by Judge Vincent Hollaren of Worthington, president of the Minnesota Juvenile Judges Association and a supporter of a statewide censorship bill. He concluded in a letter to the *Daily Times:*

So we find the professors defending a by-product of prostitution. But let us hasten to add that they are perhaps as poorly informed in this fact as they are in their other utterances. Meanwhile, the judges of the juvenile courts will continue to place their faith in the sane, sensible opinions of the mothers and fathers of this state of Minnesota, and count upon them to rid their communities, with the help of their legislators who are a part of this parenthood of Minnesota, of this infiltration of filth; and that we have no offers of compromise to this type of gangsterism.

Judge Hollaren and his colleagues wanted Minnesota's state assembly to adopt an obscene literature law, based on the Michigan statute, and they planned to set up a State Bureau of Criminal Apprehension as a statewide censorship bureau.

By now several Minnesota cities have adopted ordinances similar to St. Cloud's. According to the Board of Review chairman in this city, the Knights of Columbus intend to work for a censorship ordinance in every town in Minnesota where there is a Knights of Columbus chapter. Meanwhile, here in St. Cloud, we have won the first round in the struggle against censorship. The Board of Review has been suspended by the city council. We face now the task of getting Ordinance 345 off the books.

Most of the books that I have upheld as a judge I reject as a reader. I happen not to admire the stenographic reporting of life in the raw, and find the product bitter and unproductive. I prefer beauty and good manners, with a touch of illusion, and resent the spray of garbage across an incandescent page. I believe that life is forwarded by intense and passionate thought and by nothing less, and that law and stenography lie in the foothills far beneath. I believe that those who truly seek God's face have long since graduated from both subjects.

This is the best job that I know for publishers and for those who dare to exercise their right of free speech, which is a different matter in this grimy age. I know of no more important time for courageous good taste than when there is not much of it about. Liberty is easier to win than to deserve, and if it is treated as either a license or a vacuum, the police will come or the walls will fall in. We must deserve it better if, as I hope, we are to reverse the cynicism of Voltaire, that history is a succession of wooden shoes going up the stairs and velvet slippers coming down. — JUDGE CURTIS BOK, COURT OF COMMON PLEAS, PHILADELPHIA.

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Boston—The Library Did Not Burn

by Laurence J. Kipp

THIS YEAR the Boston Public Library will celebrate its one-hundredth anniversary. This library—the first of the great American municipal public libraries to be supported by public taxation—will chronicle the events and principles that have made it a frequent leader among popular libraries and one of our few rich municipal research libraries. It must also chronicle adversity and attacks. Clearest in memory will be the 1952 attack upon the principle of free inquiry within the library. This part of the history will record a clear-cut victory for the library.

One need not be a Bostonian to consider the battle of 1952 a significant event in American library circles. The forces, the issues, the tactics and the irrationality of the fight are not purely nor properly Bostonian. It is apparent that the attack was deliberately conceived to fit a national pattern, and its progress and rebuttal may well serve as a classic illustration for librarians throughout the country.

The events in Boston followed shortly upon the heels of a transfer in ownership of the Boston *Post*, an ailing but influential newspaper. The *Post* was purchased in May, 1952, by John Fox, a spectacularly successful young financier, whose career was uncharted until *Fortune* devoted two articles to it in June and July of 1952. A series of crusades has enlivened the *Post's* front page—and presumably its circulation—since Mr. Fox took charge. Traditionally Democratic, the paper was non-committal and impartial in covering the 1952 campaigns, except as it gave strong support to McCarthy's aims and methods.

On September 22, the *Post* began serializing the Senator's book, *McCarthyism*. The paper revealed, on September 23, that the Boston Public Library subscribed to the pro-Soviet monthly, *New World Review*. On September 25, the *Post* disclosed that the McCarthy book was not available in the library, though the news story stated that the book had been ordered and would be made available for circulation. With these two local stories, the *Post* launched its campaign to give McCarthyism a chance in Boston.

The issue—once the McCarthy book was in the library and ready for circulation—was clearly one of access to information concerning Communism within a research library. The Boston Public Library was not charged with having pro-Soviet materials on open shelves. It was accused by the *Post* of having in the main library, available on request, files on the *New World Review*, *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, of including in a lobby display of great books a copy of Marx's *Communist Manifesto* (this display was arranged by the Great Books Foundation), and of having in its reference collection Vishinsky's *Law of the Soviet State* and "thousands" of other Communist publications. The *Post* stated the issue thus: "We believe that pro-Soviet literature should be suppressed in our public libraries. . . . We believe that we are in a fight to the death. . . . We believe that to permit pro-Communists to circulate their poison among our people is sheer stupidity."

The counter argument was stated by Milton E. Lord, director of the library. "It is essential that information on all aspects of political, international and other questions be available for information purposes in order that the citizens of Boston may be informed about the friends and enemies of their country." To this the Boston *Herald* added, "The basic question is whether we still have confidence in the average American's ability to separate bad ideas from good by his own unaided effort. When we lose that confidence we shall have lost our faith in democracy itself." The two sides could make no clearer their basic differences.

With the issues clear, each side sought or accepted support. The *Post* claimed that scores of letter-writers approved of its position by two to one and that hundreds of persons approved unanimously by telephone. The paper was supported by statements from two commanders of local American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars posts, and by a number of citizens apparently interviewed on the street. There was definite support, though in varying tones, from city and library officials. Mayor John B. Hynes suggested the labeling of Communist books. Two trustees of the library, Frank J. Donahue, a judge of the superior court, and Patrick F. MacDonald, a steel merchant, expressed strong disapproval of the purchase and availability of such materials, as did the president of the City Council, Gabriel F. Piemonte, and Councillor Francis X. Ahearn.

The director of the library was immediately and fully supported by three members—a majority—of the trustees of the library: Frank W. Buxton, a retired newspaper editor; the Rt. Rev. Robert H. Lord, a Catholic priest and a former Harvard professor; and Lee M. Friedman, a lawyer and a noted book collector. Staff members re-

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port that two-thirds of the professional and sub-professional staff of the library signed a petition to the trustees asking that the principle of free inquiry be defended. The *Herald*, an arch-Republican newspaper, supported the library strongly, and the *Pilot*, a Catholic diocesan paper, and the *Christian Science Monitor* also voiced editorial approval. Twenty-four prominent citizens of Boston signed a statement of support. Herbert A. Philbrick, former FBI anti-Communist agent and author of *I Led Three Lives*, sent a long telegram to the trustees asking the Boston Library to stock more, not less, Communist publications. Other individual, organizational and editorial voices prepared to speak for the library if it might become necessary and effective to do so.

The methods of attack and defense are enlightening. The *Post* waged its crusade in daily front-page editorials or stories. The lead sentence in one story, banner-headlined, began, "Top-level Communists and their underlings get the latest 'dope' straight from Moscow at the expense of the Boston taxpayers. . . . " An editorial asked, "When do the names of Lenin and Stalin go up on the façade of our library?"

City and library officials who agreed with the *Post's* position first joined in the attack with statements critical of library policy. They then prepared to bring the charges before the trustees and the City Council. The director and trustees of the library were asked to meet with the appropriation and finance committees of the Council to determine why library funds had been used to buy the materials in question.

The tactics of the defense were imposed by their argument—reason and reasonableness. The classic arguments for free speech and free access to information were voiced by the *Herald*, the *Pilot* and the *Monitor*. The library staff drew upon the support of the American Library Association by quoting the Library Bill of Rights in its petition. (Councillor Ahearn, however voiced the suspicion that the ALA might be only another Communist-dominated organization.) The demands of scholarship for current materials was made clear by Monsignor Lord, who translated from an issue of *Pravda* to show its usefulness, while Mr. Friedman showed the historical value of such materials with the parallel illustration of his own great collection on Jewish history, much of it, he pointed out, anti-Semitic.

The tactics of the attack and the defense were on public display at the open meeting of the trustees with four Council members. Trustee MacDonald asked for a ban on Red propaganda and commented, "There appear to be a lot of people who are going all-out for Joe Stalin." Councillor Ahearn asked, "Has the board taken official notice of Communism as a menace? . . . Has the board recognized that it could be the biggest dupe of all?"

At the meeting of the trustees on the day following, two resolutions were brought to the floor. The first, adopted by a three-to-two vote, read in part:

> Material presenting all points of view concerning the problems and issues of our times, international, national and local, should be available to the public.
>
> The library authorities have no right to exercise censorship that their individual or collective points of view shall prescribe what the public shall read and what shall be banned.
>
> The public must be afforded an opportunity in a great library to have facilities to learn both sides of any controversial question of importance. . . .
>
> At the same time . . . the trustees propose that the material in the library shall not be misused for wrongful propaganda purposes to the injury of our country.
>
> We are determined . . . that the facilities of the library shall not be abused for the planned infiltration of Communist propaganda. The director has therefore been instructed accordingly to effect arrangements designed to prevent abuse or misuse of any Communist material in our possession.

Judge Donahue presented a substitute resolution incorporating only the final two paragraphs of this statement. This was defeated by a two-to-three vote.

The *Post* took what comfort it could and headlined its front-page story "Library to Weed Out Red Books," although it was made clear by quotations in the story that no such decision had been reached. The *Herald* headed its news story "Library Heads Reject Censorship Role."

After this action of the trustees, the *Post* twice credited the library with secretly labeling Communist periodicals. These statements seemed to stem only from belated discovery by the *Post* of the subject heading "Propaganda, Russian" in the catalog.

On October 31 Monsignor Lord announced his resignation from the Board of Trustees. The final action in this battle may have been taken a week later when it was announced that Richard J. Cushing, Archbishop of the Boston Diocese, had accepted an appointment to fill the vacancy. (The late Cardinal O'Connell had earlier served on the Board.) Bostonians, recalling strong support for the library position from the *Pilot* and from Monsignor Lord, inferred that Boston newspapers and politicians would hesitate to renew attacks upon a position presumably approved by the Archbishop. Thus far they have not been disappointed.

In any event, the Boston Public Library definitely has won a first round; if the battle continues there is now great strength evident in the community upon which the library may draw.

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The Nation—Scattered Alarms

THE STORIES from San Antonio, St. Cloud and Boston told in the preceding pages have their parallels in communities all over America. The following are a few of the cases which have already been brought to the attention of the American Library Association this year:

The Police Chief of YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO, recently issued to newsdealers a list of more than 400 books which he found objectionable. He ordered the distributors to remove the books from sale, under threat of prosecution. Among the 400 are books by Somerset Maugham, James T. Farrell, Guy de Maupassant, John Steinbeck, Sherwood Anderson and John Dos Passos.

The Police Censor Board of DETROIT, MICH., compiled a list of 200 objectionable books, including works of Ernest Hemingway, Lillian Smith, Mackinlay Kantor and Ethel Waters. Book distributors in EAST CHICAGO, IND., have received a letter from the police chief enclosing a list of "undesirable literature," ordering removal of such books from the stands and threatening arrest of retailers displaying them. As a result of an ordinance by the City Law Department of CLEVELAND, OHIO, distributors have voluntarily removed from the newsstands Freud's *Introduction to Psychoanalysis* and a book of Renoir reproductions which included some nudes, among others.

The Cleveland "anti-crime, anti-smut" ordinance met determined opposition from librarian Quincy L. Mumford, from publishers and other citizens, on the ground that the "proposed ordinance would in effect place literature in a strait-jacket."

* * *

Citizens of BURBANK, CALIF., recently defeated a candidate for the Board of Education who was sponsor of a plan to evaluate "un-American and immoral literature in public libraries." Mrs. Benton Bowling's book-labeling scheme was adopted by the public library's board of trustees in July, 1951, and was promoted as a pattern for all California public libraries. However, the scheme was revoked by the Burbank City Council, and Mrs. Bowling was defeated in the municipal election last month.

* * *

Members of a Roman Catholic parish in BROOKLYN, NEW YORK, have conducted a campaign to get neighborhood retailers to withdraw from sale objectionable books. "Co-operating" dealers receive a certificate.

* * *

A bill pending in the Ohio State Legislature would require censorship by a board of review before publication of magazines and pocketbooks. The Texas Legislature has passed a bill, signed by the Governor, requiring as a prerequisite to the purchase of any textbook an oath by the author that he is not and never has been a member of the Communist Party and, during the preceding five-year period, has not belonged to an organization on the Attorney General's subversive list.

Another bill before the Texas Legislature would ban certain types of literature from state-supported schools and colleges and require that such books, when written by Communist or "subversive" authors and purchased for research purposes, be branded in red ink. The literature banned from schools includes books that discredit the family unit, ridicule the American constitutional form of government, or "ridicule American or Texas history and the parts played therein by patriotic Americans and Texans." The Vermont State Legislature voted down a bill to create a censorship board to review Vermont public-school textbooks.

* * *

A textbook committee of the CHICAGO, ILL., Board of Education has recommended dropping Frank A. Magruder's long-respected *American Government* from the Chicago schools' list of approved books. The campaign against the Magruder text was sparked by the *Educational Reviewer*, a quarterly published by the Conference of American Small Business Organizations, Inc., a lobbying group "dedicated to the fight against subversion." The Magruder text was also under fire in ARLINGTON, VA., but the issue was dropped after protests by Arlington teachers and the Arlington chapter of the American Association of University Women.

* * *

The librarian in the MADISON, WIS., Public Library, reputedly following the "advice" of columnist Westbrook Pegler, refused to buy a book by Anderson and May entitled *McCarthy—The Man, the Senator, the Ism.* As a result of public protests, the Library Board decided to purchase both the Anderson and May book and the book by Senator McCarthy, *McCarthyism—The Fight for America.*

* * *

The Intellectual Freedom Committee of the Iowa Library Association helped to quell difficulties over censorship of material on DES MOINES, IOWA, newsstands by promoting the adoption of the American Library Association's Bill of Rights as library policy in the state.

* * *

At a recent meeting of the American Association of University Professors, the Princeton chapter issued the following statement: "Political misuse of legal processes, the stifling of controversy, the suppression of dissent, the banning and censorship of books either because of their ideas or because of what their authors believe, the boycotting of the creative mind—these and other methods of control are among the most dangerous enemies of a free society."

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THE ANTHOLOGY OF AMERICANA

by Kenneth Rexroth

THIS IS A SET of books that should be in as many homes as the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, but, for a variety of reasons, is almost unknown. They were brought out by the American Historical Association, under the general editorship of J. Franklin Jameson, in the years before the first war. The original publishers turned them over to Barnes and Noble sometime between the wars, and in due course they went out of print and have been rather difficult to obtain for a long time.

ORIGINAL NARRATIVES OF EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY, general editor—J. Franklin Jameson (Barnes and Noble, 19 volumes; $4.50 each; set, $78.50).

Recently Barnes and Noble put the entire set back in print. As a matter of fact, I think there were originally twenty volumes, that there was a general index to the whole set, but each volume is separately and carefully indexed, so this is no great loss.

They start out with the Northmen, Columbus and Cabot, and run down to the Spanish in California at the beginning of the eighteenth century. New England, Virginia, the Midwest, Carolina, the Southwest, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, each major province of American exploration and settlement is represented by the earliest available narratives. There is a minimum of editorial interference. English texts appear in their original spelling and punctuation, some of this pretty weird in the records which survive in manuscript. Spanish and French texts are translated with maximum fidelity; where necessary, older translations have been carefully reworked. We are as near as we can get to the voices of the creators of the country.

When I was a youngster, these books were coming out, and were around the house. I read and re-read them. There isn't anything especially difficult about them, that is, they don't require any special scholarly training. The people who wrote them were simple individuals telling a simple story of plain actions. Somehow or other, things like this are considered scholarly reading. Except in the old time colloquial sense, I was hardly a "scholar" at twelve. I thought they were wonderful then, and I think they are just as wonderful today. Since getting them I have read every one from cover to cover. They are almost as absorbing at their best as Georges Simenon. At their worst, they are much more interesting than our lady imitators of H. James and M. Proust.

America came late on the scene. We developed as a nation, as a people, long after our forebearers in Europe had been thoroughly civilized. So America does not have a heroic age, or a heroic or epic literature. We have never managed to acquire an artificial epic like the *Aeneid*, or even a covert portrayal of the rise of the national mind, like *Paradise Lost*. These books take the place of such an epic for the American reader. I think they do it very well. They don't have the aesthetic power of the *Iliad* or *Burnt Njal's Saga*. But they do have, in most instances, something that *Burnt Njal* has, an overwhelming sense of the immediacy of the experience.

Out of them all, the one you are most likely to have read at sometime in your life is the *Journal of Columbus*. If you haven't read it, you have read quotations from it. The painted stick they sighted as they neared the first landfall, the bush with berries, the flight of landbirds, the sight of land, the first Indians—these things are unforgettable. For us at least, they are as memorable as the episodes of the wrath of Achilles. Generally, the whole set is like this. All the narratives don't rise to the level, to the enthralling, gripping significance, of the *Journal of Columbus*, but some of them come pretty close to it.

Of course there are Smith's accounts of his adventures in Virginia, which are not only an excellent picture, with all the immediacy I mentioned, of the settlement of the country, but are also a portrayal of a new type of man. The pioneer is usually represented as a stalwart people, on a par with, or slightly below, the moral and intellectual level of the Donner Party. They are there in the wilderness only by trivial accident, their connection with it is hardly existant, and they go under. Not Smith. His is one of the first typical American minds as we have come to know them—full of business and no stuff and nonsense and let's get on with it—the same type of bold, brash, foot-in-the-door salesmanship which has made America, alas, what it is, but without which no one at all would have survived the mosquitoes and Indians of the Virginia tidewater.

All the tendencies which have gone to make up the American mind are here in the beginning. Some of them aren't very pleasant. As you read the Puritans, even the best, like Winthrop's *Journal* and Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*, you have a feeling that you are not just encountering the ordinary Social Lie, the kind of false face which a society always presents to itself and which today forms the matter of press and radio and movies—the dominant group mind, which is always a little deranged—but that here you are dealing with genuine madmen. The stories of the settlement of New England, the Indian Wars, the Witchcraft Trials, are the psychoanalytic recall, reveries on the couch of history, of patients totally out of contact with reality locked away in a closed system of symbols, a socialized paranoia, which is really chilling to read.

On the other hand, the Spanish seem to have taken Europe with them, seem never to have lost the sense that they were still cavorting around in the army of the emperor in Austria or Italy or the Low Countries. The companions of Coronado and De Soto don't seem to realize where they are. They write of the new world as though it was only another corner of the Spanish Empire, which, of course, as far as they were concerned, it was. I suppose this is the sort of social psychology which grows up in any genuine imperial system. At the same time, there is a total absence of the Puritan lack of contact with reality. The Spanish treat the Indians they meet as other people, other, even though lesser, members of the Spanish Empire.

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The same sympathy is there in the French records from the very beginning, from Cartier and Champlain on. Underlying the narrative is a French camaraderie and an enthusiastic, ingratiating feeling for other people. It is the same eager interest in you as another living person you encounter when you go into a French vegetable shop and the proprietress says "Eh, b'jour, m'sieu, m'dame, b'jour, comme ça va?" The French went around the forests of Canada and Wisconsin and Illinois talking just like that to the Indians.

In California, where the Spanish came via Mexico, and after long years of hacienda life in that country, there is a different relationship with the natives. The California stories are very unreal. Generations of slavery in Mexico had removed the masters from all contact with the Indians. Where the Puritans populated New England with redskinned devils, the Mexican Californians regarded the natives as domestic animals. Possibly the deracination, the lack of any feeling for the land, for tradition (except in so far as it is cooked up by the Chambers of Commerce and the book-trade racket of "Californiana") which is so noticeable today in California, goes back uninterruptedly to the days of its Mexican conquerors. To them the Indians were as little human as the llamas of Peru. To the Eastern or European traveler today, the state seems curiously uninhabited.

One element of the collective neurosis of this land of ulcers and suicides is never mentioned nowadays, and sounds fantastic at first suggestion. But I wonder. Over every page of these nineteen volumes broods the guilt of a stolen country. Today, when the past is so remote to the denizens of this immense megalopolitan civilization, we are tempted to think that this theft cannot influence the average citizen at all.

These simple, often barbarous and semi-literate stories give the same kind of insight into the faults of the American people that Homer gives into the instability and fractiousness of the Greeks. The wrath of Achilles is the same spirit of contentiousness which defeated Greece in the face of Alexander and later the Romans. You can see it all in the *Iliad*. So you can see the body politic of the United States in embryo and infancy in these—our substitutes for epic and saga. But also, as in the *Iliad*, you see the virtues of the people that are to be. In this case, the ability to make do, the ingenuity we think of as characteristic of the Yankee, the man who can always fix it when it breaks, who can always find his way out of the woods.

In the French, the courtesy and interest in other people of the first explorers of the Middle West, their spirit of openness and sympathy, survives to a very large degree. Even though the Middle West is settled by people of every imaginable background, predominantly Teutonic, I suppose, Marquette and Joliet left an impress which has never been effaced. The sense you have in a small Iowa or Illinois town that people are really interested in you, that they like you, that they like people, at least white people, that it's a good idea you're alive, that they want to know where you're going and what you're doing, out of friendliness, and that they are willing to help you on your way if it doesn't cost them anything—the sense of genuine courtesy characteristic of the whole Mississippi drainage, goes back to the *coureurs de bois,* the camaradarie of the canoe ways and portages.

I don't know any place where you get the deep sense of contact, even identification, with the country in which you live, with what demagogues have called race or blood memory, but which is a good thing to have, at least a little, whatever demagogues call it—that you get in these nineteen volumes. *The Journal of Columbus* along with Smith's account of Virginia, the narratives of the Coronado expedition, Champlain's voyages and the exploration of the old Northwest, are absolutely fundamental to an American education. Every American child should have the pleasure of reading them in the original. Every adult should remember them. Of course they don't. There isn't any reason why we should read some historian's interpretation of the thing when the original is available. The sense of the original can never be recaptured. The country is too young—all the issues are too fresh and too alive—for anyone to have come on the scene like Gibbon, to use the historical narrative, the historiography of the country, as a great work of art to show forth a general view of life; or like Thucydides, to write a historical tragedy with the form of the tragedies of Aeschylus—a great tragic picture of the besetting sins of the Hellenic mind.

Such a thing is impossible in America because of our lack of distance and our inability to get away and look back. After all, we have only one great historian who wrote about a very short period in the history of the country, Henry Adams. Prescott, of course, did not write about America, he wrote about Mexico and Peru. Parkman was not a very good writer, and Parkman was interested in proving that the New England acquisitive and sadistic mind was greater and better, more valuable historically, than the French mind, dishevelled and disgraceful in Parkman's eye—very erotic and drunken.

With the exception, then, of Henry Adams, we don't have anything to turn to, as the Romans had Tacitus or the Greeks had Thucydides. But we do have these narratives, which are incomparably more interesting than the original narration of most history. If you go back and read the chronicles of Henry of Huntington, or Florence of Worcester, or any of the other chronicles which make up the original narratives of the late middle ages in England, it's really dismal stuff. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is rather interesting—brief sentences year by year—"This was the year of the comet and a great murrian of cattle and the Danes came up the river and slew as they went."

But in these books you have the birth, and infancy, and childhood of the country described in their own words by the people who made the discoveries and who settled the country and expanded the frontiers—the actual actors on the scene with all their faults and all their violence and acquisitiveness, self-righteousness and heroism, ingenuity, and, at least for themselves and sometimes for others, their sense of comradeship and group loyalty—in other words, all the virtues which we think of as the virtues of the epic character, of *Le Morte d'Arthur,* the Cuchulain cycle, the *Iliad*, or the Icelandic sagas—the same kind of people doing the same kind of things. Although none of them is the great artist that Homer or the author of *Burnt Njal* was, that is the only quality that is lacking—the quality of high art. But then after all, the quality of high art exists very rarely in the world's literature, and these nineteen volumes have most of the other basic qualities upon which later literature is built.

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LAWS ON THE MAT

THE LEGISLATIVE STRUGGLE, by Bertram M. Gross (McGraw-Hill; $6.50).

HIS EXPERIENCE as a staff adviser to several Senate committees and his observation of the legislative process from other Washington posts have enabled Mr. Gross to produce the best general analysis currently available of the practical day-to-day operations of Congress.

Mr. Gross follows Arthur Bentley in picturing the political process as a group struggle for power and interprets the law-making function as a special case of this more inclusive phenomenon. In keeping with that theme in the first third of the book Mr. Gross deals with the principal participants in the "legislative struggle": private groups, political parties, and government agencies. He describes these actors in the legislative drama and summarizes the more important proposals for their reform. The author's wide-ranging interests lead him down many bypaths into the discussion of topics often not proximately relevant to his main concern with the consequence that the first part of the book stands somewhat disconnected from the whole. While he touches here a variety of problems of importance in American government and politics, those interested primarily in the legislative process will find the meat of the book to be in its later chapters.

The approach to the analysis of the workings of Congress proper is not that of a narrow description of rules and technical procedures. It is rather a broad account of who does what, how, and why in the legislative process. The activities of those outside posts of formal legislative responsibility are covered as well as are the actions of Congress itself. The topics that receive attention include the genesis of a bill, broad problems in bill drafting, campaigns on legislative proposals and their relation to formal Congressional processes, the control, place, and operation of committees, floor action, and Presidential approval and veto. Although there is ample information on the forms and technicalities of these matters, the spirit of the inquiry is directed more towards questions of tactics and strategy. In each instance the treatment is tied into the conception of the legislative process as one of group competition and each topic takes on life by a generous citation of relevant illustrative material.

Mr. Gross' book will serve as a practical guide for all those concerned with legislation. Even experienced lobbyists, legislators, and administrators will find it useful. For the inexperienced it should turn out to be indispensable. The publishers ought to do well for the timing of publication should enable them to exploit the rather considerable market of the inexperienced in the District of Columbia and its environs who could read the book to their great profit.

V. O. KEY JR.

A WALK WITH ARIADNE

HIDDEN THREADS OF HISTORY: *Wilson Through Roosevelt*, by Louis B. Wehle (Macmillan; $4).

ON THE WHOLE, Mr. Wehle is a sorrowful citizen and his woe is incurable because it stems from incompatibilities that all the king's horses and all the king's men cannot remove. Mr. Wehle is (a) not merely a lawyer, but a legalist, (b) from his college days a personal friend of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and (c) an honest man. Hence his tears.

Because he is a legalist, his book is highly critical of his friend; but because he is an honest man it is not a snarling book, it is merely woebegone. Mr. Wehle believes—and there is no reason to doubt his sincerity—not only that a contract is sacred but that *only* a contract is sacred. The legalistic mind cannot accept and probably cannot apprehend the concept that principles of law are relative to time and circumstance, because such a concept to such a mind seems to dissolve all values. The notion that what is ethical today may be monstrous tomorrow implies that the real validity of contracts rests upon their substantive justice; which to the legalist seems to invalidate the law of contracts altogether.

Naturally such a man working with Roosevelt was in a most unhappy position. The devaluation of the dollar and the repudiation of the gold clause, for instance, horrified him; for he could not, he cannot, and he never will understand that it was their retention, not their repudiation, that would have constituted plain robbery. All he could see was that it was so nominated in the bond; he could not perceive that passing time and changing circumstance had made the bond a claim to a pound of flesh, a compact with crime.

It is hardly necessary to add that he was outraged by the "court-packing" bill. He actually quotes with approval the imbecile report of the Senate committee on that measure; it never occurs to him that the object of the bill had to be achieved by some means, because a Supreme Court loaded with ossified minds means the elimination of justice from our system of jurisprudence, and the elimination of justice would be the ruin of the nation. As a matter of fact that object was achieved simply by allowing Justices to retire on full pay at the age of seventy. This was a better method than the one proposed by Roosevelt, but Roosevelt's object was imperatively necessary.

Then in the matter of the fight between TVA and Commonwealth and Southern, which the President asked Wehle to adjudicate, he seems to think it all right for the private companies to use the courts to drive the TVA out of business, but outrageous for the TVA to use the PWA to drive the companies into a corner. He asserts flatly that this was done "without paying for their fair going value," ignoring the fact that the price finally paid was $21 million more than the market value of the companies' securities when negotiations began. A price of $21 million for "going value" was certainly not utterly unfair. Mr. Wehle's real objection to this operation seems to be that the pressure was not applied through courts of law, but by other means; and to the legalistic mind any other means of applying pressure than through the courts is wrong.

The admirable feature of the book is that fact that, in spite of his natural bent, Mr. Wehle is strongly, even fiercely, determined to omit nothing that can be said to Roosevelt's credit. The result is that he commands the respect even of the late President's admirers; not for a moment is he to be classified with the billingsgate school of historians whose delight is to fling mud at a monument. His charges, in my opinion, rest upon an insecure foundation, but I do not believe that that foundation is malice; it is a temperamental inability to comprehend what Roosevelt had in mind.

For this reason it is a book that should be read attentively by pro-Rooseveltians, who are too prone to assume that all opposition to Roosevelt is sheer preverversity. There are many honest and honorable men whose cast of mind is impervious to liberal thought; and they are valuble, for in politics an honorable opposition is as important as the brakes are in an automobile in preventing smash-ups.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

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PLANNED MUDDLE

ECONOMIC PLANNING FOR THE PEACE, by E. F. Penrose (Princeton; $7.50).

DURING the second World War, some of the least likely people publicly endorsed economic planning, among them Winston Churchill and Anthony Eden, and it was the official policy of the Western allies to prepare a series of orderly proposals for eventual peace. Mr. Penrose has made one of the more dispiriting books of the season out of his service as economic adviser and economic planner to John Winant, our wartime ambassador to England. The range of the plans upon which Mr. Penrose worked is impressive: they include finance, raw material allocation, trade policy, food relief, exchange rates and capital development. And always before the planners was the massive and intractable problem of Germany.

How well did our planners do? The current condition of hostility between the West and Russia, and bitter disagreement between the United States and its European allies suggests that they did badly. Mr. Penrose's careful, scholarly, and generally dispassionate analysis makes clear some of the reasons for failure. For one thing national leaders in the United States and England were guilty time and again of haste verging upon irresponsibility, of taking action without consulting the technical advisers whom they had set in motion. A telling illustration of this fault is the western adoption of the policy of unconditional surrender, apparently against the judgment of Joseph Stalin, seldom cited in other connections for his benevolent nature. We compounded our error in later policy toward Germany. Here Mr. Penrose tells once more the tragic-comic story of the Morgenthau Plan. Henry Morgenthau appointed himself an expert on Germany, developed his famous proposal to pastoralize the country, peddled it in England as well as in the United States, and eventually sold it to Roosevelt who hastily endorsed it. Churchill comes off as badly, for he too accepted the plan, without conference either with his Cabinet or their advisers. One of the more vivid tales told in this book deals with Morgenthau's interview with Anthony Eden, then as now Foreign Minister, and the latter's diplomatic evasion of commitment. Eden must have wondered what were the appropriate functions of a Secretary of the Treasury.

Our planners, technicians as well as politicians, did badly for another reason: they took too little note of the future, despite the ringing statements to the contrary which flowed from many lips. When the war ended, there was no reparations policy, no economic policy and indeed not much policy of any kind. As if this were not enough, our negotiators in particular suffered from the faults of the doctrinaire. The convertibility provision in the Anglo-America Loan Agreement was a conspicuous piece of folly, agreed to under protest by the British representatives, and forced upon them by free traders in this country who ignored the real problems of England.

The planners were guilty of another major error. They underestimated the gravity of post-war maladjustment and concentrated upon long range economic planning. There were American experts in the Department of Agriculture who actually were worried about farm surpluses in the immediate postwar period. Similar misunderstanding of Europe's needs led to arrangements on our part which were inadequate, hasty, and piecemeal in response to emergencies which we failed to comprehend and, therefore, resented all the more.

And finally, politics and political pressures whittled down the best plans of the most expert planners. The British Loan was far smaller than Lord Keynes, the chief British negotiator, thought safe. International monetary institutions were weak and inadequately financed because our negotiators felt ever upon them the hot breath of Congress. Tariff reduction was never seriously attempted for the same reason. That Europe survived at all is much more a tribute to our generous instincts and the Marshall Plan than it is to any intelligent planning done during the war and the two years which followed it.

Mr. Penrose is a most intelligent guide through a morass of plans and international arrangements. Two additions would have made this a still better book: a chapter which clearly outlined the economic principles applicable to Europe's situation, and another which dealt at least summarily with the Marshall Plan. It is a pity that Mr. Penrose ends his book as that most nearly successful experiment of our times in international co-operation, begins.

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

FRANK'S FINE NOVEL

MEN LIKE SHADOWS, by Dorothy Charques (Coward-McCann; $3.75). THE MARRIAGE OF ELIZABETH WHITACKER, by Jacobine Hichens (Duell, Sloan and Pearce—Little, Brown; $3.50). HOTEL TALLEYRAND, by Paul Hyde Bonner (Scribners; $3.50). 'TIS FOLLY TO BE WISE, by Lion Feuchtwanger (Messner; $3.95). SIMPLE TAKES A WIFE, by Langston Hughes (Simon and Schuster; $1.95); NOT HEAVEN, by Waldo Frank (Hermitage; $3.50).

AMONG the pleasant and unimportant novels published this and every year, Dorothy Charques' *Men Like Shadows* and Jacobine Hichens' *The Marriage of* Elizabeth Whitacker deserve a high place. Mrs. Charques' novel is factually accurate, surely sentimental, largely interesting because it gives information about such things as goliardic songs and credibly presents the dubious Christians who crusaded against the Turks without an ardour that was absolute. Jacobine Hichens' *The Marriage of Elizabeth Whitacker* is a sensible and expert novel about an Anglican and a Catholic who fall in love in modern times. It doesn't go very deep, yet it never becomes stupid, as Mrs. Charques' novel somtimes does. Both books are an enjoyable three or four hours reading you need have no compunction about avoiding. Neither one is very good or very bad you finish reading untroubled and unaltered.

Paul Hyde Bonner's *Hotel Talleyrand* gives you the same agreeable feeling of having been there you get from Mrs. Charques' novel about the Third Crusade and is a good deal less "realistic" than Jacobine Hichen's story of a marriage. It is about the Marshall Plan, the competency and incompetency of ECA officials, of French and American diplomats, about Communist espionage in Paris. Its mild "message" is tht maybe we're not too well loved in France and that part of it is our fault. Probably the facts about the maneuvers of Americans and anti-Americans are close to Mr. Bonner's fictional account (Mr. Bonner served with ECA) and indubitably his evaluation of what Frenchmen think of us is valid. But *Hotel Talleyrand* is also a pretty bad novel, far inferior to the mediocre other two; the pompous style, the stereotyped characters, the melodramatic plot, and the frequent interposition of sex when it seems unneces-

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sary make one distrust even the truths that are conveyed. It is disheartening to note that *Hotel Talleyrand* is already a best-seller and probably will continue to be one for some time.

Though it hasn't yet, Lion Feuchtwanger's *'Tis Folly to Be Wise* is likely to join Mr. Bonner's novel on the best-seller list—at least one hopes so, for it is a much better novel despite the fact that it too uses melodrama and sex as a come-on. Centering about the last days of Rousseau and the effects of his ideas and personality upon a representative group of his followers and enemies who participate in the French Revolution, *'Tis Folly to Be Wise* combines good reading and an intelligent grasp of the character and influence of the wisest fool in intellectual history. An experienced craftsman and an honest man, Mr. Feuchtwanger always intrigues while he informs, but this is not his best effort. As an historical novel it is inferior to his own *Ugly Duchess*; it is much less good than his excellent novels about contemporary life, *Success* and *Paris Gazette*. Nevertheless and despite its almost surely inaccurate dramatization of Rousseau's death as a murder, *'Tis Folly to Be Wise* is better worth reading than most novels of the season because it is never basically phoney and often genuinely illuminating.

Already a best-seller in the sense that many of its chapters have been read by the million readers of the Chicago *Defender*, Langston Hughes' *Simple Takes a Wife* is less ambitious and less carefully sustained than Mr. Feuchtwanger's novel, a good deal more successful than the other three I've mentioned. Simple is an ignorant Harlem Negro, full of good sense and delectable jive talk. The chronicle of Simple's ventures, opinions, and mistakes—though it is as uneven as even the best collection of newspaper columns is bound to be—has a continuity of both theme and tone. Negroes are not uniformly bright, satisfied, or dangerously subversive is the theme; light banter that means serious business is the usual tone. Not as good as the best of Mr. Hughes' short stories and poems, *Simple Takes a Wife* unpretentiously and with mild anger reveals the average Negro as he probably is in actuality rather than as the too good or too bad man he appears to be in most of the fiction written about him.

Waldo Frank's *Not Heaven* is the only one of this group that should be required reading. Underestimated in this country far more than he has been in Latin America and in Europe, Mr. Frank deserves to be considered one of our major writers. I have not read all of his work, but it seems to me that *City Block* is a better collective novel than *Manhattan Transfer*, *The Bridegroom Cometh* a better "proletarian novel" than *The Grapes of Wrath*, the essays in *In the American Jungle* quite as valid an interpretation of twentieth century America as has been given us by any philosopher or historian. *Not Heaven* is as good a book about the human condition as has come out since the end of World War II; quite possibly it will come to be regarded as one of the best works in fiction of our century.

What I have said may make Mr. Frank's most recent book sound both heavy and forbidding and I must admit immediately that parts of the book are difficult reading, that the whole is as imperfect as *The Brothers Karamazov*. Like Dostoievski, Mr. Frank is both prophet and artist. As prophet, he sees the failure of all modern panaceas, discerns no escape, believes that the acceptance of tragedy as the inevitable conclusion to our abstractly "progressing" society is the only attitude that a mature man can take. The ways of God are and have always been strange and apparently unjust, Mr. Frank seems to believe, yet the miraculous acceptance of the unendurable is preferable to the wallowing in *trivia*, in subconscious cruelty, and pawing sexuality that characterizes the average man who expects Utopia. Sometimes the prophet of doom that can be accepted and thereby conquered overwhelms the artist. For the most part, fortunately, the artist in Mr. Frank controls. His group of closely but not obviously interrelated short stories forms what he calls a cyclorama; the parts are separately memorable; together they suggest an entity as meaningful as the book of Job and as skillfully integrated as the apparently unrelated sections of *Ulysses*.

In this cyclorama there are stories about all the ways by which modern man attempts to escape the God who appears to be a "clever cruel son-of-bitch": the escape through nudity and through excessive clothing; by sex and by success; by isolated asceticism and by devotion to children; by idealism and by cynicism. None of the attempts to escape works. The truest realist and the happiest character in the book is Juan who faces the ultimate cruelty of both man and Nature with an affirmation that comes entirely from his own spirit and defeats the death he cannot escape. Like Job, he accepts what he cannot understand; the other characters pretend to understand what they will not accept.

My inadequate comment on what I consider to be a great imperfect book accents, I hope, the difference between the popular mediocre and the profound that is too usually unpalatable. My guess is that *Not Heaven* will sell fewer copies this year than any of the other novels I've discussed, that both *Not Heaven* and Mr. Frank's other books will sell more finally than any I have mentioned—if we survive. If we survive, and I hope Mr. Frank's profound prophecy of disaster is mistaken, it will be because we learn to read and prefer the books that tell the almost unendurable truth to those that cultivate a small garden prettily show us how to remove a few weeds, or pretend that the large garden is really, on the whole, with just a few exceptions, all right.

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FLEURS DE LYS

by Eric Bentley

WHEN MR. WALTER KERR wrote that Broadway was not for me and implied that I preferred coteries and cults, in short that I was a snob, I was tempted to retort that the Broadway public is itself a coterie of snobs and that Mr. Kerr is subscribing to that cult of pseudo-democracy—democracy as an applause-producing noise—which is one of the major swindles of modern culture. Had I done so, I would have forfeited the right to make a better point, namely, that the matter of popularity cannot rationally be discussed while each of us is busy insinuating that his opponent is an enemy of the people. When more intent on analyzing the situation than on winning the argument, Mr. Kerr, I am sure, would admit the deficiencies of our "popular," Broadway theatre, and I, for my part, would admit those of the theatre off Broadway.

I am even eager to do so—as, whenever an Off Broadway theatre is drowning, I (or so it seems to me) am the straw it clutches at. Now the idea that theatre off Broadway is better than theatre on it is an illusion that will not stand the test of a single season's theatre going. If the professional theatre fails because it is commercial, the non-commercial theatre fails because it is non-professional. A professional, by definition, has a trained talent; amateurs have ideals, which are much less entertaining. Nor—for all the claptrap about simplicity and the dangers of too much scenery—is lack of money a recommendation.

Perhaps I am unduly under the influence of disappointment, but I will record, for what it is worth, the impression that the Off Broadway theatre, as most of us have conceived it, is finished. Our conception followed the model of the Provincetown in its early days: a theatre of young people coming forward with plays of their own to offer. Today, the Greenwich Village theatres offer plays by established authors in productions that are barely competent, let alone original. The few new plays they have put on have not (with an exception or so) whetted the appetite for more. And it's not just that they aren't works of genius, which they don't have to be, but that they have no identity. True, the homoerotic element is rather insistent, but such a motif doesn't give an identity to a generation, even to the extent that, say, proletarianism did in the thirties. An epidemic is not a movement.

I would not set down these melancholy facts, even as a concession to Mr. Kerr, were it not that a current enterprise in the Village brings promise of better things. This is Terese Hayden's season at the Theatre de Lys. Not that Miss Hayden has avoided all the pitfalls.

Up to this writing there have been two shows: *Maya* by Simon Gantillon and *The Scarecrow* by Percy MacKaye. *Maya* is a pretty good play. I happened to see it in Paris a couple of years ago directed by Gaston Baty and starring Marguerite Jamois, and I recall leaving the theatre dazed by the virtuosity of both. The de Lys production seemed undirected, and the leading part was miscast. I question whether *Maya* was a good choice in the first place—it is not a great play, and it has no interesting relation to this place and time—but certainly it was a bad choice if the leading lady (or her director) would not accept the spirit in which it was written. What in Paris saved the play from pretentiousness was the light, French irony; I never found out if the author was serious; in New York Miss Helen Craig's way of insisting on pathos dramatized only *her* (Anglo-Saxon) attitude to prostitutes, not Gantillon's. (And Miss Hayden must learn to reject inadequate translations. Two years ago she used the ruinous Ashley Dukes version of *Parisienne* when, with Jacques Barzun's far superior job, she might have put the play across. With *Maya* she wrongly assumed she could turn the trick by leaving the translator's name out of the program and making a few unauthorized cuts.)

The Scarecrow is a more defensible choice for a producer with the ambition of filling a niche in American theatrical history. Its author is a venerable figure who has devoted a long life to idealistic service of the American theatre. The play itself presents a far-reaching idea and, what is more remarkable, presents it in a peculiarly theatrical image, that of an automaton or doll learning to be human. Miss Hayden's program tells us that Louis Jouvet planned to produce the play; it seems right that he should have; one can think of no American play which would commend itself more strongly to an actor schooled in French classical theatre; perhaps the only actor now living who could squeeze all the juice from the leading role is Barrault.

The Scarecrow was worth writing, if only to place this single moving image before an audience, but one can't help regretting that Mr. MacKaye hedged it around with the kind of verbiage that theatre people call literature. As a poet, Mr. MacKaye combines the pretensions of Goethe with the capabilities of Bayard Taylor. Miss Hayden would have been mistaken to place such writing on exhibition if American dramatic literature abounded in great poetry or if her principal interest had to lie in plays. But her principal interest, I should judge, is in acting. This is her contribution and my reason for hopefulness. Done right, even *Maya* might be a justifiable choice: it is a play for actors, if not for an (American) audience, a play in which every scene is a challenge to the performer—nine scenes, nine *études*. What finally bore down my resistence to Mr. MacKaye's prose was the opportunity his story offers to director and actors. And here it should be said that perhaps Miss Hayden's great achievement as an impressario was the rounding up of so many good, young artists. The opportunity of the script was not missed. I don't know if the Village has seen such careful work before. But then, essential to Miss Hayden's new version of Off Broadway is the avoidance of amateurism. Which means the abandonment of the merely philanthropic notion of using an actor because no one else wants to use him. Yet when Miss Hayden hires established actors she gives them new tasks. Pat Neal, Douglas Watson, and Eli Wallach have been good before; if they could have a year at this kind of experience they would be better. And I should like to credit that muggy evening of *Maya* with one bright discovery: Susan Strasberg, who with a little more training could be the first American properly to play the great part of Isabel in Giraudoux's *The Enchanted*.

Correction

IMPATIENT CRUSADER, by Josephine Goldmark, which was reviewed by Frances Perkins in the June 8 issue of *NR*, was published by the University of Illinois Press, and not, as we reported, by the University of Chicago. The price is $3.50.

—THE EDITORS

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